Hieroglyph, Emblem, and Renaissance Pictography

LUDWIG VOLKMANN
Translated and Edited by
ROBIN RAYBOULD

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Translator's Preface

In this book, Ludwig Volkmann focuses on two categories of the symbolic literature of the Renaissance, the hieroglyph and the emblem, the latter including, as he states in the title to Chapter 2, the device and the impresa. In so doing Volkmann draws attention to the social and literary phenomenon that dominated the culture of medieval and Renaissance Europe in which many objects, events and texts were deemed to possess a double purpose or meaning, a literal meaning and a symbolic meaning. Indeed, the long period from the beginning of European history until the seventeenth century can be regarded as a single cultural era characterized by this interest in the symbolic nature of things. It was an interest which expressed itself in all aspects of religious, civic and daily life as well as in art, architecture, literature, medicine and recreation and which persisted and expanded until by the time of the Renaissance every feature of the natural world both in the heavens and on earth was assumed to have these twofold meanings. Stars, animals, plants, stones, colors, numbers, and names among many others had two interpretations, and expressions of these interpretations were carried over into their literary counterparts, the herbals and the bestiaries, into the moral injunctions of fables and proverbs, and into the philosophical and theological insights and references of the emblems, enigmas, devices and other literary categories. All these contributed to the ethical imperative to provide instruction for good conduct in this life or to attempts to express the inexpressible, that is, to achieve an understanding of the nature of God.

After the invention of printing and to cater to this widespread cultural interest, a substantial fraction of the output of all printed books consisted of texts giving examples of such symbols or commentaries on them. There were a very great number of these and as a preliminary to explaining their origin and purpose as well as to provide a theoretical basis for the whole field, commentators on the literary symbol thought it essential to distinguish between the various categories of text. Thus Henri Estienne, in his treatise *L'Art de faire les Devises*[1] of 1645 differentiated between devices, hieroglyphs, enigmas, symbols, fables, parables, emblems, sentences, reverses of medals, arms, blazons, cimiers,[2]

1 H. Estienne, *L'art de faire le Devises*, Paris: Paslé, 1645 trans. Blount 1646. These categorizations appear as the subtitle to Blount's *The art of making devices*, his translation of Estienne's work. This Estienne should not be mistaken for his namesakes, the Henri Estiennes, who were members of the illustrious French publishing family of the previous century.

2 A cimier was the crest on a helmet.

cyphres and rebuses, and his book was only one among a whole host of such commentaries and lists. Claude-François Menestrier in his *La Philosophie des Images Enigmatiques*[3] of 1694, listed the following categories: enigmas, hieroglyphs, prophecies, fates [a method of prophecy], divinations, lotteries, oracles, talismans, dreams, the prophecies of Nostradamus and baguettes [magic wands]. Other contemporaries delineated many more, each requiring careful definition, exposition and illustration in their treatises and collections. Balthazar Gracian enumerates most of the above as possible sources of ingenuity or the act of wit and adds apologues,[4] allegories, épopées [epic poems], novels, metamorphoses, tales, jokes and paintings.[5] Giordano Bruno, that maverick mystic, in a moment of lucidity, identifies twelve categories of the forms of matter and thirty-two processes for denoting signs[6] including hieroglyphs with which, he says, "the whole of this book is cluttered; for example, from the balance-scales we infer justice; from the fox, cunning; from the asses head, ignorance." William Camden in his *Remaines Concerning Brittaine* of 1629[7] in which he discusses the symbolic material and literature used by the British, has as its subject matter: "language, names, surnames, allusions, anagrammes, armories [coats of arms], moneys, [medals], impresses [devices], apparell, artillerie,[8] wise speeches [apophthegms], proverbs, poesies and epitaphs." Emanuel Tesauro in his *Cannochiale Aristotelico*[9] in a particular *jeu d'esprit* of his own in which he reverses the typical method of listing these genres, illustrates twenty literary expressions including hieroglyphs and emblems with the same motif for each of them, that is the story of Ganymede being taken up to heaven for the pleasure of Zeus.

I cite this extensive list of lists (and there were many more) to emphasize the widespread interest in these categories of literary symbol, to demonstrate that the hieroglyph and emblem were among them and to give the background to the investigation that Volkmann was aiming to undertake in his book. It has been estimated that there are some sixty to eighty genres of this symbolic

3 C.-F. Menestrier, *La Philosophie des Images Enigmatiques*, Lyon Baritel, 1694. See pp. 236–237 below for an extended extract from his *L'Art des Emblemes*, Lyon: 1694.

4 An apologue was a synonym for a fable and an épopée a synonym for an epic poem.

5 B. Gracián, *Agudeza y Arte de Ingenio*, (ed. E. Calderón), Madrid: Castalia, 1969, Discourse 55 cited in A. Z. Ruiz, *Gracián, Wit and the Baroque Age*, New York: Lang, 1996, p. 242.

6 G. Bruno, *De Imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione*, Frankfurt 1591, bk.1, pt. 1 ch. 8.

7 W. Camden, *Remaines Concerning Brittaine*, London: Waterson, 1629, title-page.

8 As it sounds; it is not clear why Camden would include a section on guns in a work primarily on symbols.

9 E. Tesauro, *Cannochiale Aristotelico*, Venice: Curti, 1578, ch. 18, p. 489. In the previous chapter, ch. 17, p. 486, he gives a different selection with twelve further examples.

literature[10] and in many cases there were thousands of titles in each genre representing overall a literary phenomenon which merits close examination.[11]

The origins of this Renaissance interest in the symbol were diverse but we can identify a number of them. The first reaches back into early European prehistory and culture particularly to the Greek myths. It was suggested by later philosophers that these myths represented something more than just campfire stories: either the gods were kings and heroes who had been apotheosized as a result of their great deeds, or they were forces of the human mind, emotions, abstract ideas, for which, at the time, language was otherwise inadequate or they were symbols of the forces of nature, the power and unpredictability of which dominated the lives of primitive people. This last interpretative solution translated into the central thesis of Platonism that the objects of the natural world and the continuous changes in the natural world were explicable as symbols or states of Plato's unchanging and eternal Ideas which themselves only had real existence in the Intelligible world. In turn Platonism and neoPlatonism were taken over and adapted by the Christian fathers and then dominated the philosophical thinking of the first millennium of the Christian era; the Ideas or Forms of Plato translated into *Logoi*, or Words as famously expressed in the opening verse of St. John's Gospel, "the Word was God and the Word was with God."

Nature had been also created by God and thus could also be seen as a symbol of his Being. Raymond de Sabunde expressed it thus in his *Theologia Naturalis*: "God has given us two books: the Book of the Universal Order of Things (or, of Nature) and the Book of the Bible. The former was given us first, from the origin of the world: for each creature is like a letter traced by the hand of God."[12] This view of Nature as a representation of God reached its climax in the writings of St. Bonaventure in the thirteenth century, who expressed the almost pantheistic view that: "Like through a mirror, we can contemplate God with the sensible things, not only since they are signs but by themselves as his essence, presence and power."[13] Or as Estienne puts it more poetically in

10 For an extended list with representative authors see R. Raybould, *An Introduction to the Symbolic Literature of the Renaissance*, Trafford, 2005, Appendix p. 343.

11 The emblem literature alone is said to comprise at least 6,500 titles including separate editions of the same title. See P. M. Daly, *Companion to Emblem Studies*, New York: AMS Press, 2006, Preface. Since the date of this publication it can be assumed that many more have been so categorized or discovered.

12 R. de Sabundi, *Theologia Naturalis*, Venice: Ziletum, 1581, Prologue, translated by M. A. Screech from the original French translation of Montaigne. This book was the centerpiece of Montaigne's *Essais* in his essay "The Apology for Raymond Sabunde."

13 St. Bonaventure, *Iterarium mentis in deum*, I. 14 and II. 1.

his chapter on the Hieroglyphs: "God composed this world of such diversity of creatures.... so that men could see, as though through a cloud, the unbearable radiation of the divine majesty." [14]

A tradition of biblical interpretation also began early in the modern era and Origen (182 to c. 251) was one of the first Christian fathers to emphasize its use. He said "True there are imperfections in the Bible.... But these imperfections become perfections by leading us to the allegory and spiritual meaning." John Cassian in the fifth century proposed four modes of biblical interpretation: the literal, the allegorical or typological, the tropological which indicated the appropriate moral action and the anagogical demonstrating how to achieve a mystical or spiritual objective. Typological interpretation which used passages in the Old Testament to prefigure events in the New Testament had been formalized by Tyconius[15] in the fourth century. His seven rules for this purpose were adopted by St. Augustine in his *De Doctrina Christiana* from the turn of the fifth century and repeated throughout the Middle Ages. Typological interpretation was distinct from allegorical interpretation and constituted a separate thread which reinforced the interpretative tradition throughout the period. Typology was unique in that it involved two actual historical events, the first of which presupposed the second and the second of which fulfilled the first; the events of the Old Testament pointed forward to those of the New.[16]

Other factors perpetuated this cultural tradition of symbolism. One was the belief in the secrecy of knowledge. Knowledge was for the privileged few; it should be kept veiled from the *idiotae*, the ignorant masses, and preserved only for the use of the educated or initiated. This is a theme which is emphasized throughout the whole period and examples can be illustrated from many writers including Plato, Pythagoras, Aristotle, St. Paul, Origen, St. Clement, Proclus, St. Augustine, Pseudo-Dionysius, John of Salisbury, Roger Bacon, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Pico della Mirandola, Francis Bacon and others. A secret language, a symbolic expression, was deemed essential for the communication of mystical, religious and even secular learning. We can take at random the example of the words of Proclus where he is discussing the myths; he says: "The myths arouse those naturally endowed to a longing for the knowledge hidden within them and provoke a search for the truth which has been set in their shrine while at the same time preventing profane individuals from laying

14 Estienne (1645), p. 4.

15 See F. C. Burkitt, "The Rules of Tyconius," *Texts and Studies*, (ed. J. A. Robinson), III, 1. Cambridge University Press, 1894.

16 See passim E. Auerbach, "Figura," *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, University of Minnesota Press, 1984.

hands on what is forbidden to them to touch."[17] Perhaps even more surprising is the longevity of this elitist attitude which although shocking to our modern liberal sensitivities endured right through to the nineteenth century. Here is Thomas Taylor, the American classicist, in his translation of Iamblichus' *Life of Pythagoras* (1818) after he relates that the novice class of Pythagoras' students, the *akousmatici*, the listeners, were only permitted to listen to the sage's teaching from behind a curtain. He goes on: "This observation applies also to those of the present day, who, from a profound ignorance of human nature, attempt to enlighten by education the *lowest* class of mankind ... (this) will disorganize society, and render the vulgar dissatisfied with the servile situations in which God and nature intended them to be placed."[18]

Yet a further thread perpetuating the symbolic tradition was the so-called Art of Memory. From the times of the earliest Greek thinkers and writers, a technique was developed to assist the process of memorization, an essential capability at a time when there was no printing, writing materials were expensive and few could even write. This technique, the Art of Memory, which remained surprisingly stable and consistent during the whole period, consisted essentially of having in one's mind "memory places," for instance, a building with which one was familiar, through the rooms of which one could move in a predetermined progression and on the walls of which were symbols to which were attached or associated the memories one wished to recall. Even as late as the seventeenth century there was a mass of publications describing and enlarging on this technique and emphasizing the part that was to be played by the symbolic associations of the Art.[19]

Finally, underlying and reinforcing all these trends, was the attempt initiated by Aristotle, and continued in the work of many of his successors, including the Roman poet Horace and both St. Augustine and St. Aquinas, to perfect a theory of language itself. To them, a word was certainly the symbol of a thought, of a material object, or of an abstraction; but the difficulty is that the meaning of a word is ultimately circular—it has to be defined by other words—so how does language arise? For the mystics, the Word, the *Logos*, had a divine origin. For the theorists, language evolved through the use of metaphor, the surprising juxtaposition of ideas, one thing apparently meaning another. Theories of metaphor underpinned all contemporary treatises on the

17 Quoted in J. A. Coulter, *The Literary Microcosm, Theories of Interpretation of the Later Neoplatonists*, Leiden: Brill, 1976, p. 50.

18 1986 reprint by Inner Traditions of the 1818 edition, p. 126. The emphasis is Taylor's.

19 Volkmann also worked on the Art of Memory; see his "Ars memorativa," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*, n.s. 3, Vienna: 1929.

symbolic literature and it is no surprise that that the greatest of these, Tesauro's *Cannochiale Aristotelico*, the Aristotelian Telescope, is formally a discussion of Aristotle's theory of metaphor.

It was in this last category that the hieroglyphs were of particular interest to contemporaries. It was obvious to the humanists studying the hieroglyphs in Rome that these mysterious characters were a language and thus fell within the purview of investigations of the symbol. The language aspect of the hieroglyph was emphasized by L. B. Alberti and put into practice by Francesco Colonna in the *Hypnerotomachia* with his "hieroglyphic writing." But both as a language and as a symbol there was a unique problem which contemporary commentators never resolved nor perhaps even consciously contemplated since the hieroglyph could not be understood; as a symbol it was incomplete: there was no "signified."

A symbol as it was understood in the Renaissance and indeed in ancient times required two elements: the signifier and the signified, the object and what it represented, the expression and the content.[20] The etymology of the symbol, originally the Greek *symbolon*,[21] is well documented as is the evolution of its meanings over the centuries. The first symbol was likely a piece of bone or a dice which was used in a legal transaction; the symbol was broken in two and each piece was retained by each party for future identification.[22] Then the symbol evolved into any kind of marker for identification and then, over the centuries, into what we think of today as a symbol, an object or text with a secondary meaning. This transition may very well have occurred via the *Symbola* of Pythagoras which in addition to being precepts for behaviour for the Pythagorean sects (see Excursus 5 p. 224) may have been used as passwords to identify members of the sect.[23] Guillaume Budé in his *Commentarii linguae graecae*, Commentaries on the Greek language, published in 1529, described its various classical and modern uses,[24] and he quotes Plato's *Symposium* that "each of us is but a *symbolon* of a man … and each is ever searching for the

20 Modern interpretations following C. S. Peirce suggest three elements: the sign, the object and the interpretant; cited in U. Eco, *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986 p. 1.

21 Interestingly, the symbol has a similar etymology to the emblem. Symbolon derives from *symballein* to put or throw together and emblem from the Greek *emballein* to put or throw together.

22 Walter Müri, "ΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝ," *Beilage zum Jahresbericht über das Städtische Gymnasium in Bern*, 1931 1, pp. 1–46, documents at least ten homonyms for *Symbolon* by early antiquity.

23 See P. T. Struck, *Birth of the Symbol: Ancient Readers at the Limits of Their Texts*, Princeton University Press, 2004, p. 100. Struck admirably describes the early history of the symbol.

24 For both the original and a translation by Denis L. Drysdall of the extract from the *Commentarii*, see *Emblematica* 8, 2, (1994), p. 339.

symbolon that will fit him."[25] As time went on, the word took on many related meanings: for instance, a collision or clash as in the clash of armies or a donation or contribution, all deriving from the concept of the bringing together of the two pieces of the *symbolon*.[26]

One of the minor difficulties in examining the Renaissance literature of symbolism is that initially there was no general agreement on the definitions and even the names of the various literary species. Some of the expressions had no translation in Latin since the form had not been invented in classical times, so that a name had to be invented or borrowed for Latin use. Thus Claude Mignault (Minos)[27] in his commentaries on Alciato's *Emblemata* uses the word *symbolum* for the generic meaning for any word or object which signified another, and he also uses it in the specific sense of a device and sometimes an emblem since there was no other word available. Jacob Masen in his *Speculum Imaginum*, Mirror of Images, of 1650[28] does the same, using the word symbol when he wished to refer to the device. Even in the vernacular, there were complications since some forms had different names in different languages; Spanish emblems, for instance, were often called *Hieroglificos*. Others just used the word hieroglyph casually as a substitute for symbol in general. Thus Pierre Dinet's *Cinq Livres de Hieroglyphes* (Paris: Heuqueville, 1614) actually has nothing to do with hieroglyphs but describes the symbolic meaning of the natural world in five books including stones, plants and animals together with two books of miscellaneous material. Then there are Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicae Questiones*,[29] Picinelli's *Mundo Symbolico* (p. 235 below) and Typotius' *Symbola Divina* (p. 120 below) all three of which are formally emblem books.

Returning to the hieroglyphs of the Renaissance; in spite of heroic efforts to attempt translations, what the hieroglyphs on the obelisks actually meant was

25 *Symposium* 191 D–E trans. W. R. M. Lamb.

26 The literature on the symbol, both ancient and modern, is extensive. In addition to Struck cited above, representative and leading texts are E. H. Gombrich, "Icones Symbolicae: Symbolic Images," *Studies in the Art of the Renaissance II*, Phaidon, 1978, pp. 78–191, J. Pépin. *Mythe et allégorie. Les origines grecques et les contestations judéo-chrétiennes*, Paris: Etudes Augustiennes, 1958, T. Todorov *Theories of the Symbol*, (trans. C. Porter), Cornell University Press, 2000, G. Manetti, *Theories of the Sign in Classical Antiquity*, Indiana University Press, 1993.

27 Claude Mignault wrote long commentaries for many of the editions of the *Emblemata* of Alciato, the first for the 1571 edition and the last for the 1621 Tozzi edition which included a commentary by Mignault and three others.

28 J. Masen, *Speculum Imaginum veritatis occultae*, Cologne: Kinckius, 1650.

29 For commentaries on Achille Bocchi see p. 94 nt. 21

unknown to contemporaries so their utility as a symbol was in reality otiose.[30] But despite this crucial lacuna, commentators on the literary symbol continued to list it as such and one of the objectives of the present essay by Volkmann was to investigate and explain this paradox. Emblem and device had their symbolic meanings which had to be teased out of the ensemble of text and image and provide understanding and fulfilment for the reader; proverb, fable and other literary genres had their moral injunctions embedded in the text as did the bestiaries, herbals, volucraries and so on. Every one of the categories listed earlier encapsulated some kind of ethical, philosophical, political or theological message which they concealed in their "signifier" and revealed in their "signified." Unfortunately, the hieroglyph did not; the meaning of the "signified" was unknown.

This paradox comes out in all the contemporary treatises recited above where they deal with the hieroglyph. These treatments usually take the same format: they begin by reciting the allusions to the hieroglyphs by classical or early patristic authors such as Ammianus Marcellinus or Clement of Alexandria, then proceed to an analysis of the famous Renaissance books on the subject, the *Hieroglyphica* by Horapollo and that by Valeriano and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and other derivative texts and conclude by pointing to the antiquity of the hieroglyphs as an indication that they must be the origin of all the symbolic species. Furthermore, since the meaning of the hieroglyphs was unknown they were by definition mysterious, and since they were mysterious it was but a short step to assume that what they concealed were the mysteries of religion (hieroglyph meaning of course Sacred Script), the final realization being that it was necessarily the Christian religion that was thus concealed. Within the space of four pages (2–5) Estienne moves from "Hieroglyphs hold the first place among the secret disciplines" to these "Symbols and Enigmas which accompany the wisdom of all the ancients" to "the characters illuminated by the divine splendour, by means of which eternal understanding is provided to the human spirit" to "all those possessed of this same spirit have tasted of the mysteries of *our* religion, hidden from them under the veil of figures and symbols" [my emphasis]. Menestrier similarly, after reciting a long list of Christian symbols (which he calls hieroglyphs), says: "our ceremonies are mysterious hieroglyphs which serve for our instruction

30 The problem was not helped by the fact that none of the first translations of the Horapollo either in Greek (Aldus, 1505) or Latin (Trebatius, 1515 and Fasanini, 1517) had illustrations. Apart from the Dürer illustrations to the Pirckheimer manuscript which could only have had a limited circulation, the first edition with illustrations was Kerver's French 1543 edition.

and which beneath physical signs uncover for us the truths and mysteries of our religion" (p. 19). And again, Francis Yates summarizing Giordano Bruno's thesis in his *De Imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione* says: "Such concepts are not with him primarily philosophical or scientific thinking but … attempts to figure the infigurable, to become one with the universe."[31]

The solution to this paradox of the hieroglyph for the humanist was considered and distilled by Marsilio Ficino in his *De Vita Coelitus Comparanda.* According to him the hieroglyph was neither merely a character in the Egyptian language nor even a symbol of some divine idea or presence but represented the essence of the divine itself.[32] In this Ficino goes back to Plotinus and the well-known passage in Ennead 5,8,6:

> The Egyptian sages did not use the forms of letters that signify words and propositions and imitate the prescribed voices and utterances, but drawing images and inscribing a particular image for each singular thing onto their temples they displayed the nondiscursivity of the Intelligibles, in so far as each particular image is a type of science and wisdom, a subject and a whole and is neither discursive reasoning nor deliberation.[33]

In this passage Plotinus uses ἀγάλμα(τα), agalma, for image, a word which is also usually translated simply as "statue" but for contemporaries had a much deeper meaning. It denoted a statue, picture or image in which the living essence of the divinity was present and could be felt to be present.[34] The Hermetic text, the Asclepius, probably from the second or third century, in the discussion of how men fashion their gods after their own likeness, says the same and may have been Ficino's source:

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31 F. A. Yates, *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition*, University of Chicago Press, 1964, pp. 336–7.

32 For further elaboration of this concept, see D. J. Robichaud, "Ficino on Force, Magic, and Prayers: Neoplatonic and Hermetic Influences in Ficino's *Three Books on Life*," *Renaissance Quarterly*, 70, 1, (2017), pp. 45–85 as well as Gombrich, particularly pp. 172–5 and Rolet, Vol. II, p. 844.

33 Cited and translated in Robichaud p. 77.

34 For a discussion of *agalma*, see S. Bonfiglioli, "Simboli o Icone? I segni in limine della tradizione platonica," *Avventure del simbolo. Icone e simboli tra Antichità e Medioevo*, numero monografico di *VS. QUADERNI DI STUDI SEMIOTICI*, 102, pp. 27–64.

> Yes, I mean by this statues, but statues living and conscious, filled with the breath of life and doing many mighty works.[35]

Ps.-Dionysius also, in his discussion of negative theology and referring specifically to a representation of the Divine Names, that is, to a literary representation of the divine says:

> Those wise in things leading to divine inspiration and who wish to contemplate the divine *agalmata* should take into full consideration dissimilar representations of sacred things and should not be deceived by the outward manifestations of the figures as if they were true.[36]

In sum and according to a long tradition, the humanists believed that certain representations of God, that is statues, images, figures, non-discursive symbols and hieroglyphs contained the essence or *agalma* in which God or the gods had a presence and through which it was possible for man to make contact with the divine.[37]

For such reasons hieroglyphics was elevated to a status way beyond that of a study of mere symbols and aroused the deepest fascination among contemporaries. They appeared to embody the most profound divine revelation quite apart from seeming to depict the earliest universal language, a language which had developed by direct illustration and representation of words and objects. Finally they contained historical information about possibly the most influential culture of the ancient world. It need not surprise us that they were the subject of intense if uninformed scrutiny.

We can now turn to the emblem, the second category of the symbolic literature which Volkmann discusses. A great deal has been written about the emblem in the last half-century which now has its own annual journal, *Emblematica*, devoted to the subject. With the emblem, the symbolic nature of the genre is more secure; the signifier in its orthodox form is an ensemble of

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35 Trans. W. Scott, (ed.), *Hermetica, the writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus*, Solos Press, 1993, p. 136. See also B. P. Copenhaver, "Hermes Theologus: The Sienese Mercury and Ficino's Hermetic Demons," *Humanity and Divinity in Renaissance and Reformation*, (eds. J. W. Malley, T. W. Ibicki and G. Christianson), Leiden: Brill, 1913.

36 Quoted in Bonfiglioli; my translation.

37 The word was still used with a symbolic meaning in the Renaissance. For instance the *Emblemata* of Nicolas Reusner, Frankfurt, 1581, is subtitled *algamatum sive emblematum sacrorum liber*, "a book of *agalmata* or sacred emblems."

three elements:[38] a motto, a picture and an epigram, and the signified, the hidden meaning of the symbol, could be any general, ethical or philosophical subject or reference. From the moment of its inception, the emblem book became enormously popular; the first emblem book[39] by Andreas Alciato published in 1531 was issued in about 180 editions before the end of the eighteenth century and, as I remarked earlier, the total number of emblem books from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries including different editions of the same book is now reckoned to be more than 6,500. At least 1,700 of these were books by Jesuits who had coopted the genre as part of their counter-reformation push-back on behalf of the Roman church against Protestantism.[40]

The device was a graphical symbol similar to the emblem but it had only two elements, an image and a motto inscribed within the image. The device was clearly derived from the coat of arms of medieval times but unlike the coat of arms was not heritable and belonged only to one individual and was intended to illustrate his personal ambitions or achievements. It was thus distinguished from the emblem which pointed a general moral or spiritual message. Also it was regarded by contemporaries as a superior genre to the emblem since with only two elements it was more difficult to decipher, more difficult to envision the meaning of the symbol. According to Paulo Giovio in his magisterial *Dialogo dell Imprese*, the device (or impresa in Italian) was introduced into Italy by the invading French armies in 1499[41] but it is now known to have been in earlier use in both Italy and elsewhere. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the device became ubiquitous among the nobility of Italy and then throughout Europe. Each of the Italian academies, of which there were more than 1,100, had its own device as did many of their members who were encouraged to adopt a motif which resonated with that of the academy. At least seventy Italian treatises were published illustrating and describing the meaning of the devices of the aristocracy of Europe.

The device and impresa are now assumed to be synonyms but they had different origins. Device originates with the French *devise* which in turn comes from the Latin *dividere*, that is to separate or distinguish, to distinguish one person from another, particularly in his personal accomplishments rather than through recognition of his family's armorial bearings. Impresa originates with the Latin *imprendere* meaning to undertake, that is again to distinguish

38 Three was the standard number but in many cases there were more than three.

39 For the origin of Alciato's text see Chapter 2 p. 84 of the present text and Excursus 2 p. 123.

40 See G. Richard Dimler, "Short Title Listing of Jesuit Emblem Books," *Emblematica* 2, 1, (1987), p. 139.

41 P. Giovio, *Dialogo dell'Imprese Militari et Amorose*, Lyons: Roviglio, 1559, p. 8.

a personal undertaking or achievement but originally it had a particular emphasis on the purpose or objective which a vassal swore to undertake in the ceremony where he first bound himself to his Lord. In French the name of this oath was specifically the *emprise*.[42]

Volkmann was one of the earliest pioneers to emphasize the importance of emblem and device in Renaissance literature and art.[43] Giehlow in his *Hieroglyphenkunde* of 1915[44] had devoted a chapter to the work of Alciato although he was consumed by his effort to show that the emblem was totally derivative of the hieroglyph and that the discovery of the hieroglyph, with which he conflated the culture of the symbol, was a catalyst for the Renaissance itself although the actual influence on the emblem literature of the hieroglyph and the work of Horapollo is now known to have been relatively small.[45] Before Giehlow, the nineteenth century works of Henry Green are viewed as the first modern commentaries on the emblem (see below p. 93) but the contribution of Volkmann to the emblem field has not been widely recognized among emblem scholars. He correctly interpreted the emblem (and the device) as categories of the symbolic literature and long predated other early commentators in the field such as Praz,[46] Schöne,[47] Miedema[48] and Hecksher and Wirth[49] from the 1960s when emblem research began in earnest.

Ludwig Volkmann (1870–1947) was a distinguished academic from Leipzig who held teaching and administrative positions in both Germany and the United States. He published numerous works on art history in addition to

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42 See K. Lippincott, "The Genesis and Significance of the Italian Impresa," *Chivalry in the Renaissance* (ed. S. Anglo), Woodbridge, 1990, pp. 49–76.

43 E. R. Curtius in his *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, first published in 1948 (trans. W. R. Trask, Princeton, 1953) p. 346, nt. 83 points out that neither Giehlow nor Volkmann addresses the subject of Spanish emblem books and this represents a significant omission from their studies.

44 But completed as far as it went in 1901–2; see Giehlow (2015), Introduction.

45 See 124 nt. 104 below and C.-F. Brunon, "Signe, figure, langage: Les *Hieroglyphica* d'Horapollo," *L'Emblème à la Renaissance* ed. Yves Giraud, Pairs SEDES/CDU, 1982, p. 42: "les emprunts directs à ces hieroglyphs authentiques sont relativement peu nombreux dans les Emblèmes" [direct borrowings of authentic hieroglyphs in the Emblems are relatively few].

46 M. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, Rome: Storia e Letteratura, 1964.

47 A. Schöne, *Emblematik und Drama im Zeitalter des Barock*, Munich: C. H. Beck, 1964.

48 H. Miedema, "The Term Emblema in Alciati," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1968), pp. 234–260.

49 W. S. Hecksher and K. A. Wirth, "Emblem, Emblembuch," *Reallexikon zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, v Stuttgart: 1959, Cols 85–228.

the present *Bilderschriften der Renaisance*, a dissertation on the iconography of Dante and a review of the Ars Memorativa.[50] His surviving contributions could have been greater but unfortunately many of his remaining papers were destroyed with his house in the Allied bombing raid of December 1943.

In the first chapter of the *Bilderschriften*, Volkmann uses the same method of treatment as the Renaissance commentators on hieroglyphics, first with references to classical authors from Plato to Martianus Capella and then to the classic Renaissance texts, the translations of *Horapollo*, the *Hieroglyphica* of Valeriano and the *Hypnerotomachia*. He continues with a discussion of medals, the obverse and reverse of which lent themselves naturally to signifier and signified and, finally, to the numerous Italian humanists from Filelfo to Leonardo who refer in one way or another to the hieroglyphs. Chapter 2 is devoted to the sixteenth century emblem writers. He begins by introducing Alciato and his pioneering work, and describes twelve other early emblem books as well as the same number of books on devices. In Chapter 3, he returns to hieroglyphics north of the Alps and expounds the works of both French and German authors who either refer to the hieroglyphs or who wrote commentaries on them or translations of the principal Italian pieces and these include the most renowned texts including those by Rabelais, Erasmus, Reuchlin, Herold, Celtes[51] and Fischart. He ends this chapter with a prolonged examination of the symbolic associations of the Triumphal Arch, the Triumphal Chariot and the Prayer Book of the Emperor Maximilian I. In all these he uses a very loose definition of hieroglyph—what he in truth describes are the allegorical or symbolic interpretations of these authors' references. In Chapter 4 he reverts to the emblem and device literature from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and reviews the works of approximately forty more authors again mostly from France and Germany. Then in his Appendix, he lists the origin of some eighty printers' marks which are derived from emblems or devices. Finally, Volkmann's indices are full and informative. In particular, Index 2 'Hieroglyphs, Emblems and Devices' with its multiple entries referencing many different authors, demonstrates the wide extent of the practice of symbolic denomination throughout the period from classical times onwards. It also shows how the use of these motifs over many centuries in diverse fields evolved into different interpretations of the same symbol adding to the challenges of categorization and exegesis. The crocodile, as just one example, can signify, according to the citations of Volkmann, evil or impudence or drinking water or a rapacious or

50 A complete Bibliography of the works of Volkmann is given in the *Dictionary of Art Historians* at https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/volkmannl.htm (11/17 2017).

51 Celtes frequently used the Latinized version of his name: Celtis. I use Celtes in this book.

angry man or a giant or tears or faithlessness or lust! This index alone may thus serve as a handbook for the pictography of the era.

In sum, Volkmann demonstrates an extraordinarily wide knowledge of the literature of both emblem and device. The section on the derivation of printers' marks from the emblem is almost unique in the field and his survey of the reception of the Renaissance literature of the hieroglyph in its wider meaning of a symbol is a comprehensive and pioneering study of the subject. Most importantly, he saw, perhaps subconsciously, the semantic resonance between hieroglyph and emblem; both forms were a language which combined text and image and thus went beyond arid communication by alphabet alone. The emblem authors had greater ambition; they employed the epigram and the *pictura* to create a powerful and memorable symbol through which a moral or philosophical message could be conveyed. As Marc Fumaroli puts it the emblem was certainly "the boldest and most successful attempt in all Western history to replace the fatal divergence between image and alphabetic language."[52] We can give Ludwig Volkmann the credit for recognizing this.

I take the opportunity here to thank the anonymous reviewers of the present text for their helpful comments and suggestions. I have also added to the translation six brief Excursi on topics which are relevant to Volkmann's text but which deserve expanded description or focus. Volkmann's original footnotes are denoted with a "V" at the end of each one; the remaining commentary and footnotes are my own. All the illustrations from the original edition are included and others have been added which contribute to the understanding of Volkmann's text.

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52 M. Fumaroli, "Introduction," *Con parole brieve e con figura: emblemi e imprese fra antico e modern*, (eds. L. Bolzoni and S. Volterrani) Pisa: Edizioni della normale, 2008, p. 2.

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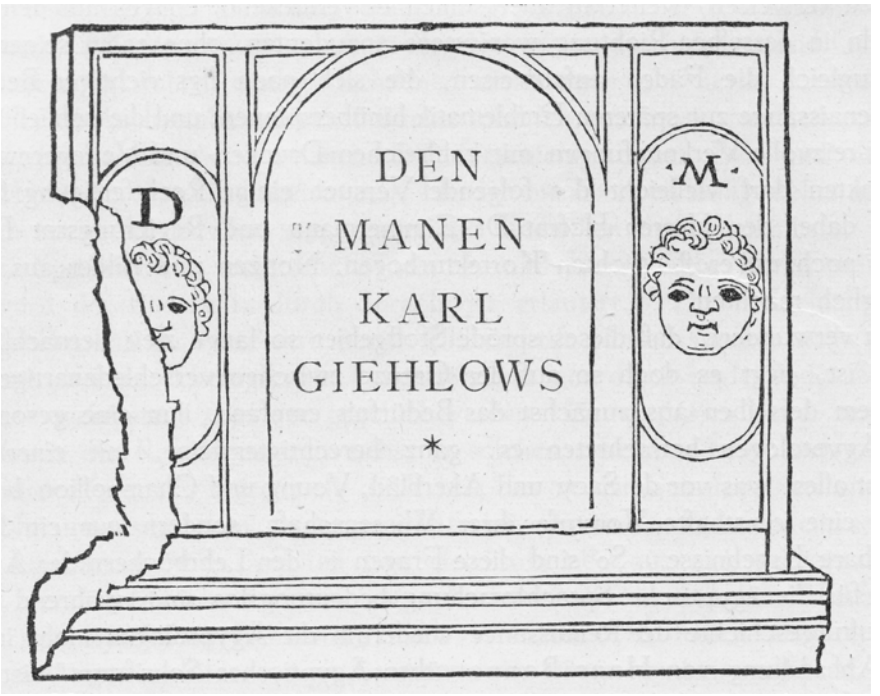
Author's Introduction



Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, the "most beautiful book of the Early Renaissance"[1] with its mysterious "hieroglyphic" writing, was the initial inspiration for the present work and although Colonna's book has already been briefly described in the dissertation[2] of Albert Ilg, the latter did not attempt a thorough examination of the whole field. As a result, shortly before the

1 This is a view that is certainly echoed by other modern experts. Mario Praz, the author of the classic bibliography *Studies in 17th Century Imagery*, Rome: Edizione de Storia e Letteratura, 1964 calls it "doubtless, the most extraordinary book of the Renaissance." See "Some Foreign Imitators of the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili," *Italica*, XXIV, 1, (1947), pp. 20–25; Carl Jung in his introduction to Linda Fierz-David's *The Dream of Poliphilo*, Dallas: Spring Publications, 1987 goes further and calls it "a work that may well claim to be among the most beautiful printed books of all time," For more information on the *Hypnerotomachia*, see the notes on pages 28 and following.

2 A. Ilg. *Über den kunsthistorischen Wert der Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Vienna: W. Braumüller, 1872 (V). Albert Ilg (1847–1896) was an Austrian art historian. His article, cited by Volkmann, has been digitized (https://books.google.com/books?id=t1dUAAAAcAAJ (5/12/17)). One of

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war, I had started to address these questions, particularly the origin of these references by Ilg, these fantastic images from the Renaissance from which the traditions of device[3] and emblem had apparently evolved out of the secret written and pictographic signs of the Egyptians. An examination of the woodcuts of the *Hypnerotomachia* provoked my immediate realization that here was a highly interesting and an as yet insufficiently considered and explored field of graphic expression, which would be very well worthwhile to pursue.

Therefore it was with real pleasure that, after my return home, I found nothing less than a classic paper which had in the meantime been published by the estate of the recently deceased Karl Giehlow[4] and which, although unfortunately incomplete, handles and elucidates in the broadest extent the essential groundwork of the question. In earlier publications Giehlow had only occasionally expressed provisional thoughts on the matter and it goes without saying that the present text is based on his work to the extent that the first part of this present work which refers to the hieroglyphs of the *Hypnerotomachia*[5] serves as a token of respect as well as acknowledgement. Thus when I determined, in spite of all the difficulties, to address once again this same theme with a few variations within the limited framework of a publication for the Deutschen Vereins fur Buchwesen und Schrifttum [German Society for Books and Publishing], there were many excellent reasons to do so.

Firstly, it had been my wish, to make accessible Giehlow's significant conclusions in a brief summary to the particular circle of the Friends of Publishing noted above and accordingly to present the result rather from the practical aspects of symbolism than from the theoretical history of this science; but

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his principal conclusions, not now generally accepted, was that there were at least two separate artists for the anonymous illustrations of the Poliphili.

3 For definitions of device and emblem see the Editor's Preface p. XVI above.

4 Karl Giehlow (1863–1913) was an art historian focused on the circle of artists around the Emperor Maximilian I especially Dürer. His most famous work "Die Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus in der Allegorie der Renaissance, besonders der Ehrenpforte Kaisers Maximilian 1. Mit Nachwort von A. Weixlgärtner," *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerh. Kaiserhauses, Bd XXXII*, Vol. 1 Vienna and Leipzig: 1915, tried to show that all Renaissance art and literature was a product of the discovery of Egyptian hieroglyphics and in particular of the fifteenth century discovery of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo. See the introduction, translation and notes in *The Humanist Interpretation of Hieroglyphs in the Allegorical Studies of the Renaissance*, Brill 2015 (trans. Robin Raybould). All citations in the present text are to this 2015 edition. Giehlow left his text unfinished and the present work is at least partly an attempt by Volkmann to complete the work of Giehlow.

5 In the present text, references to the book, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, are given as the *Hypnerotomachia*. References to the hero are to Poliphilo.

it appeared attractive on further consideration, if only to address the unfinished chapters of Giehlow, to interpret the field at least in a similar manner although without wishing to exhaust his interpretation. Equally, I wished to demonstrate the threads, which, as Ilg correctly observed, weave from hieroglyphics across the Renaissance to later emblematics. This also yielded for me particularly relevant and attractive relationships to the large field of printer's and editor's marks.[6] All these are perhaps the origins of my attempt to justify the work which follows and I am particularly indebted to Court Councillor, Dr. Zimmermann and Administrative Councillor Dr. Weixlgartner[7] in Vienna who gave me access, in a most courteous manner, to the yet unpublished proofs, notices and images from Giehlow's estate.

It is not to be wondered at that this rather esoteric subject matter, neglected for so long and left almost unnoticed, lies on the fringe of various different disciplines and for this reason not one of the experts in these fields has made any attempt to examine the subject as a whole. The Egyptologists looked at the field, quite justifiably, with a certain contempt, since almost nothing which existed before de Sacy[8] and Akerblad,[9] Young[10] and Champollion[11] signified for these latter any serious preliminary stage of their science but only an intangible fumbling and groping at the field. As a result, these questions are only briefly hinted at in the textbooks of Egyptology because they are meaningless for any modern inquiry into the Egyptian language while similarly, their importance for the history of art and culture of the Renaissance does not

6 See the Appendix, p. 265 for Volkmann's discussion of those printer's marks which originated with the emblem literature.

7 Weixlgartner was Giehlow's editor and literary executor.

8 Silvestre De Sacy was France's foremost Egyptologist at the time; he was a teacher of Champollion and publicly stated that the decipherment of the hieroglyphs was impossible although he did make some progress in deciphbering the demotic script on the Rosetta stone.

9 Johan Akerblad, a Swedish diplomat and another student of de Sacy, made further progress on the decipherment of the demotic script but was not able to complete it.

10 Thomas Young essentially completed the decipherment of the demotic script establishing an alphabet of some 86 characters. However he was not able to make progress on the hieroglyphic script on the Rosetta stone.

11 Jean-Francois Champollion was born in 1790 in the south-west of France. He was a prodigy who as a child learned Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldaic and Coptic, as well as having familiarity with other Middle-eastern languages and Chinese. In Paris he studied with De Sacy where he first saw the Rosetta Stone (a copy, since the original had been taken by the British from Egypt after the defeat of Napoleon's army and placed in the British Museum).

interest Egyptologists. For example, in the excellent paper by Hans Bonnet on Egyptian script[12] it is shown that this script would have been forgotten until learned antiquarians in the seventeenth century, particularly Pierius Valerius[13] [Pierio Valeriano] and Athanasius Kircher,[14] turned their attention to the hieroglyphs—although, in truth, Valeriano (1477–1558) belongs to the sixteenth century and, for his part, he leads on to the larger hieroglyphic studies of the Italian humanists which stretch far beyond the sixteenth century! On the other hand, in the new field of art history there was an understandable aversion to engage any closer to these matters since these scholars were content with things as they were and also they believed that they already understood the meaning of the hieroglyphic script, although in fact of course they never achieved any accurate knowledge of it. Giehlow's fortunate undertaking was the first to throw light on the matter and to show that in point of fact this unique and supremely special chapter of the cultural history of the Renaissance should be investigated as a free and independent creation derived from the source of

12 H. Bonnet, *Ägyptische Schriftum*, Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifttum, (1919) (V). Volkmann is right that Bonnet's article does not add much to what we already know. He does state that the latest dateable hieroglyphic inscription was from the time of the Emperor Theodosius 375–395 CE and the latest demotic inscription is from the time of Zeno (474–491 CE). Richard Parkinson, *The Rosetta Stone*, London: British Museum Press, 2012 is more precise; the latest hieroglyphic inscription is apparently dated August 24th 394.

13 His full name was Giovanni Pierio Valeriano Bolzano and his *Hieroglyphica* was first published in 1556 in Florence in a fragment of 8 books and then published in Basel in full by Isengrin in 58 books. Despite the date of its publication, it was written much earlier, probably mostly before 1527, the year in which Rome had been sacked by the mutinous army of the Holy Roman Emperor. The *Hieroglyphica* was formally intended as an extension of Horapollo's work but Valeriano extended his commentary to cover other ancient symbols. His belief that Christian revelation was merely one more in the line of divine wisdom revealed by the hieroglyphs was very much in the tradition of the Renaissance Platonists. He cites a total of 435 authorities. His book was very popular and there were at least thirty later editions often with further commentary by others. It became extremely influential on the European literary and decorative culture of the next two centuries.

14 Kircher was one of the most prolific authors of the seventeenth century. His masterpiece on the hieroglyphs, the *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* published in 1652, was a vast tome of 2,000 folio pages in which the hieroglyphs were given a divine interpretation and of which Hermes was deemed to have been their inventor. Needless to say, Kircher was as ignorant of the real meaning of the hieroglyphs as all his contemporaries and most of his interpretations were hopelessly not to say ludicrously incorrect but as a result of these transliterations, Kircher was able to write a complete history of Egypt, a history which was popular and influential for a century to come.

hitherto only half-understood information from ancient authors. It has made accessible to us a path to the understanding of many later phenomena which had hitherto appeared dark and enigmatic although this script had in fact also played a great part in the spiritual life of many earlier centuries. Therefore hieroglyphics and emblematics, the latter being strongly influenced by the former, occupied the minds of the greatest teachers and poets and the endeavors of the most important artists of the time in such a significant way that for this reason alone the subject merits a lively interest from the point of view of cultural and spiritual history. This cultural thread was taken up and enlivened by such people[15] as Leon Battista Alberti, Andrea Mantegna, Niccolò de' Niccoli, Francesco Poggio, Francesco Filelfo, Angelo Poliziano, Marsilio Ficino, Pietro Bembo,[16] Erasmus of Rotterdam,[17] Johannes Reuchlin, Willibald Pirckheimer, Albrecht Dürer,[18] Torquato Tasso, François Rabelais,[19] Johann Fischart—to name just a few. This cultural thread also deserves our attention, even though its further development, which in respect of emblematics cannot be denied, has led to odd and less relevant results on many occasions. The sole purpose of comparing the major lines of development of the field is to follow and expose the meaningful core of the matter, to emphasize the general picture and the important connections, and quietly discard the confusion of the broad mass of material as unnecessary and excessive, so as to achieve an overview which at the same time does not lack in interest. Giehlow skillfully introduces his treatise with an observation by Herder[20] who, referring to the poet Johann

15 This list is copied almost word for word by Curtius p. 346 in his "brief" observations on emblems, devices and hieroglyphs. Further details of the works of the authors in this list are given by Volkmann in the pages which follow.

16 Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) at one time librarian to the Vatican, rose to the rank of cardinal. It was he who originally brought to light the Bembine Table or Table of Isis (see p. 67) and it was he after whom the Bembo type is named, perhaps the oldest continuously used type-face of all.

17 Erasmus (1466–1536), the most celebrated humanist of all, is best known for three of his many books, the translation of the New Testament (1516), *In Praise of Folly* (1509) and the *Adages* (1500).

18 Albrecht Dürer needs no introduction as one of the greatest artists of the Renaissance and his principal connection with hieroglyphs is as the illustrator of the manuscript of the Horapollo, translated by Pirckheimer from 1512–1514. The original Greek manuscript of Horapollo had no pictures and the first printed edition with illustrations was the Kerver of 1543 in which some of the images may have been based on Dürer's drawings.

19 The views of Rabelais (1494–1553) on the hieroglyphs, stated in his usual boisterous fashion, are discussed in full by Volkmann on pp. 144 ff.

20 Herder (1744–1803) was one of the great philosophers of the late eighteenth century. Giehlow does, indeed, begin his work with a quotation from Herder but not the one

Valentine Andreas[21] (b. 1586), comes very close to our question without answering it himself. He says there: "The essence of art and poetry, Andrea, has lived on in these times when emblems have been very popular. In Italy and Spain, the era of the greatest poets was over, but, on the other hand, it was partly from their work, partly from the work of many great artists, that an obsession took hold in the field of letters and ideas with symbols, meaningful signs, allegories etc. which, if the truth be told, undoubtedly broadened the human spirit but contracted the spirit of art. A great flood of symbolic/emblematic books and collections appeared towards the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Why? The history of the time and of this taste still lies very much in the dark."[22] And Herder goes on to say: "There have frequently been brought to our attention, ideas which have not hitherto been considered, significant thoughts and similarities, the same phrases and oratorical forms, proverbs and political maxims, and, even if these as they stood were not comprehensible, then the sense of the images was elucidated by adding additional text." The origin and development of this combination of picture and word, which led spontaneously to a new kind of picture writing, should consequently be sought from the hieroglyph. Immediately, as a result, an answer to Herder's unanswered "Why?" can at least partly be provided and in this way, one can show how, in such apparently secondary cultural threads, the creative spirit of the Renaissance was strongly developed. With a youthful enthusiasm for discovery, I also embark here on an examination of the origins of these texts and inscriptions, not to dryly record or slavishly enumerate them but so as to reveal their inner meaning, to work freely with them and extract something new from them as one can do from all fields of literature and art. Since the original meaning of the hieroglyphs was only understood to some small degree, contemporaries combined, naively and directly, single symbols or sign language, with classical literature, with medieval symbolism and with the Bible, and in a form not in any way in the strict Egyptian style but

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quoted here. As Giehlow says in a footnote, the reference by Herder to Andreae comes from his views on the parables of Andreae of 1618. The text of Herder is dated 14th June 1793. Giehlow used the works of Herder edited by Hempel.

21 John Valentine Andreae (1586–1654) was a prolific theologian who has traditionally been associated with alchemy and the origin of the Rosicrucians as a result of his book *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosenkreutz* which appeared in 1616 soon after the publication, in 1614, of the handbook of the Rosicrucians, the *Fama Fraternitatis*. Andreae himself denied the association and this denial is now accepted by most modern commentators.

22 *Herders Werke*, Berlin, Hempel 15. Teil (Zerstreute Blätter), pp. 247ff (v). For a modern edition of Herder's works, see: *Herder: Philosophical Writings* (ed. M. N. Forster), Cambridge: Cambridge U. P., 2002.

nevertheless in a single idiom, in what was, above all, a peculiarly Renaissance style. Furthermore, this stylistic sense gradually and inevitably developed into the extensive new art of emblems and devices.

Thus, this emblematic art, in the same way that hieroglyphics was assimilated in the Renaissance, was, in general, extremely significant for the understanding of ancient times since it immediately suggested the possible origin of an otherwise independent and original art form of which the technique had only recently come into being although later it deteriorated into an art of schematic rigidity and the whole exercise exhausted itself in both academic games and dry wit. But, at the same time, to plunge into a new search for a truly scholarly solution to the problem of hieroglyphic writing was a vain and useless way forward, one characterized by many old and arid suggestions until, finally, in the year 1799 through the discovery of the Rosetta stone, the ground work was laid for Champollion's inspired and revolutionary decipherment of 1822 which brought modern Egyptology into existence. Numerous remains of the ancient scripts had been freely preserved up to then from both art and everyday life and had proved a strong influence on modern times without in most cases anyone being able to suggest their original meaning. This whole development followed and was responsible for a rich tradition of imagery; and so I stress again—an emphasis I can give in hindsight—the essence of this phenomenon was not so much theoretical and philosophical as practical and artistic, that is in the pursuit of the hieroglyphic and graphical expression of ideas.

CHAPTER 1

The Hieroglyphics of the Italian Humanists

As in the literature and art of the Renaissance in general, so also in our specialized field, Italy was ground-breaking and forward-looking. It was self-evident that scholars, striving with true passion to investigate the ancient authors, to compare, edit, interpret and aspire to write about them, could not overlook those numerous texts in which—from the fifth century BC to the fifth century AD—they remarked on the great wonderland of Egypt and its secret sacred writing. But from what they could gather from classical literature they were unable to provide even a single explanation of these mysterious signs as they looked amazed at the ubiquitous obelisks and other imagery; this, therefore, was the limit of the measure and the potential of their knowledge of these things, because throughout the period such a tradition was only partial and fragmentary. On the other hand in the minds of scholars each ancient author was viewed uncritically as an unimpeachable authority, so a firm outline of the essence and meaning of the hieroglyphs gradually came to be accepted. No doubt this view considerably departed from the truth but nevertheless it possessed enormous suggestive power, especially also since in the medieval tradition Egypt was always viewed as a primeval fount of the deepest learning and mystical wisdom. Giehlow has depicted so fully and shrewdly the history of these studies and rediscoveries, that here it is only necessary to hint at them briefly.[1] We learn from the short note of Isidore of Seville on Herodotus (Book II)[2] that the Egyptians, writing from right to left, employed two kinds of writing, one sacred and one common. In Isidore also there was the well-known remark about the Pyramid of Cheops, where, according to the assertion of Herodotus' interpreter, there was recorded in Egyptian script how much would be needed for radishes, onions and leeks for the workers, namely 1,600 silver talents. He also reports the reproduction of an inscription on the

1 See also on this the short, relevant notice in H. Bonnet, *Ägyptische Schrifttum*, pp. 15/16 and the well-known works of H. Brugsch and A. Erman, as well as the last Akademierede 1922 (V). For Bonnet see also nt. 4 above. Both Brugsch (1827–1894) and Erman (1854–1937) were among the preeminent Egyptologists of the nineteenth century and both were prolific writers. One of Brugsch's finest achievements was a dictionary of Demotic.

2 As a result of his visit to that country, Herodotus, the Greek historian writing in the 5th century BCE, is able to describe, in Book II of his *History*, the customs and some of the history of Egypt.

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brick pyramid of Asychis:[3] "Prize me not a little near the stone pyramid; since I surpassed them as much as Zeus surpassed the other gods....." Then there was the remark of Plato in the *Phaedrus* about the Egyptian Thoth who, on a journey to Naukratis,[4] was praised as the inventor of letters and later identified with Hermes Trismegistus;[5] thus the so-called Hermetic books can be traced back to primeval Egyptian sacred knowledge. Also it seems that Greek philosophers such as Plato and Pythagoras must have derived their deepest insights from Egyptian sources.[6] Happily it is appropriate for this understanding of the broad perception of this Thoth by Plato in the *Philebus*[7] to recite the passage in

3 According to the full text of Herodotus in Book II, the time of Asychis was one of straitened economic circumstances, implying that he could not afford a full stone pyramid. In any event, it appears that Herodotus has his chronology wrong and Azychis did not reign during the period of pyramid building.

4 The story is at 274d. In fact, Plato says that Thoth lived in Naucratis and visited Thamus, the king of Egypt, in Thebes, to suggest his great plan of introducing writing. The king refused to entertain the idea. Naucratis was a Greek colony which Herodotus says was the only foreign port in the country.

5 After the conquest of Egypt by Alexander the Great and the foundation of Alexandria in 331 BCE, Egypt became a Greek colony. Many of the Greek gods were introduced into the country and found to have their counterparts in Egyptian gods. Hermes and Thoth, both gods of writing were assimilated. Hermes became known as Hermes Trismegistus or Hermes Thrice Great, and was the supposed author of the Hermetic books which were handed down and were influential for the mystics and kabbalists of the age as well as for more serious thinkers such as Ficino and della Mirandola. It was believed at the time that Trismegistus was a contemporary of Moses and it was not until the work of Isaac Casaubon at the beginning of the seventeenth century that it was finally accepted by most contemporary scholars that the Hermetic books were most likely written in the early Christian era although some modern commentators accept that the Greek texts were based on much earlier Egyptian originals.

6 The question as to the extent of Egyptian influence over Greek culture has aroused wide controversy as evidenced, for instance, by the reception of Martin Bernal's book *Black Athena* and subsequent claims and counter-claims. There is no specific evidence that Plato ever visited Egypt; in the *Timaeus* he asserts that Solon did visit Egypt and conversed with the priests (*Timaeus* 21c).

7 The original (*Philebus* 18 b, c, d) is more comprehensible than Volkmann's summary. Thus: "When some one, whether god or godlike man—there is an Egyptian story that his name was Theuth—observed that sound was infinite, he was the first to notice that the vowel sounds in that infinity were not one, but many, and again that there were other elements which were not vowels but did have a sonant quality, and that these also had a definite number; and he distinguished a third kind of letter which we now call mutes. Then he divided the mutes until he distinguished each individual one, and he treated the vowels and semivowels in the same way, until he knew the number of them and gave to each and all the name of letters. Perceiving, however, that none of us could learn any one of them alone by itself without

which the former chose from the diversity of sounds first the vowels, then the "middle" sounds (semivowels) and finally the "silent" ones (consonants). He then assigned them a common bond (δεσμός), thus creating a uniform script, that is he arranged them in the assigned proportion of the several classes of sound. It has recently been shown that the explanation for the enigma of the twenty-four letter Egyptian alphabet is in point of fact to be found in the ratio 4:8:12.[8]

Diodorus Siculus[9] offers a more detailed explanation in his *Library of History* written around the time of the birth of Christ. In addition to the confirmation of the discovery of writing by Hermes-Toth, he gives (bk. 1, ch. 27) the text of the inscriptions in "sacred characters" which can be seen on the columns of Isis and Osiris. In the same book, in chapter 55, is the description of the columns erected after the victories of Sesostris over conquered territories upon which the latter had inscribed a representation of the victorious peoples "in the so-called sacred script of the Egyptians," For the victorious he uses the male genitalia while the female genitalia represented the weak and soft thus illustrating the essence of those he had conquered. In chapter 81, as in Herodotus, there is the following passage: "priests teach their sons two kinds of script, namely first the so-called sacred script and then that which should be learnt by the ordinary people." This passage is then elaborated in the third book in which it is said that the customs, the art and the writing of the Egyptians derive from the Ethiopians, with whom "the sacred writing" was more common,[10] and then further on:

> We have to speak about Egyptian letters which are called hieroglyphs. It is found that the forms of their letters take the shape of animals of

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learning them all, and considering that this was a common bond which made them in a way all one, he assigned to them all a single science and called it grammar." (Perseus Project: trans H. N. Fowler)

8 Robert Eisler, "Platon und das ägyptische Alphabet," *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, 34, (1922), pp. 3 ff. (v).

9 Diodorus Siculus, a Greek speaking Sicilian (90–21 BCE), wrote the *Bibliotheca Historica* in 40 books, of which about 15 have survived. It is particularly valuable since it makes use of the works of earlier writers which have not survived.

10 According to Diogenes Laertius in his *Lives and Opinions of the Eminent Philosophers* (ch. 14: Life of Democritus), Democritus wrote the *περὶ τῶν ἐν Μερόε ἱερῶν γραμμάτων*, [On the sacred letters of Meroe]. Meroe was the capital of Nubia, the ancient country which was the southern neighbor of Egypt and was conflated by contemporaries with Ethiopia. The Nubians used a hieroglyphic script which shared some of the same hieroglyphs as the Egyptians but their language has never been deciphered.

> every kind, and of parts of the human body, and of implements and especially carpenters' tools; for their writing does not express the intended concept by means of syllables joined one to another, but by means of the significance of the objects which have been copied and by their figurative meaning which has been impressed on the memory by practice. For instance, they draw the picture of a hawk, a crocodile, a snake and of the members of the human body—an eye, a hand, a face and the like. Now the hawk signifies to them everything which happens swiftly, since this animal is practically the swiftest of winged creatures. And the concept portrayed is then transferred, by the appropriate metaphorical transfer, to all swift things and to everything to which swiftness is appropriate, very much as if they had been named. And the crocodile is a symbol of all that is evil, and the eye is the warder of justice and the guardian of the entire body. And as for the parts of the body, the right hand with fingers extended signifies a procuring of livelihood, and the left with fingers closed, a keeping and guarding of property. The same manner of reasoning applies also to the remaining characters, which represent parts of the body and implements and all other things; for by paying close attention to the significance which is inherent in each object and by training their minds through drill and exercise of the memory over a long period, they read from habit everything which had been written."[11]

These days it is self-evident for us that it is impossible to attain a correct idea of the true essence of the hieroglyphic script through such an interpretation since in any event the script is not a true ideographic script but consists of a curious mixture of ideographic and phonetic signs which are complicated by the so-called determinatives or explanatory signs. The ancient or early Christian interpretations of the script derived from writers who did not know Egyptian and thus they were only able to make sporadic often false or half-understood suggestions of the meanings; nevertheless from these it was possible in later times to construct the so-called enigmas or puzzle writing which little by little developed into a rebus-like picture language but which did not have much to do with real hieroglyphs. Thus, what they sought to investigate and build on must from the earliest times have been false and is irrelevant for modern Egyptology. But for us it is still of interest to survey the field in detail and thus understand correctly the essence of the Renaissance hieroglyph.

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11 Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*, 3.4 from the 1935 Loeb edition: http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/3A*.html (5/11/17).

In brief, relevant statements can also be found in Pliny; there are the well-known passages in the thirty-sixth book, in which it is said that the obelisks display Egyptian philosophy and that the unknown scripts of the obelisks are Egyptian letters.[12] In addition, from Tacitus one learns that the Egyptians originally wrote their ideas down by means of the figures of animals, and that the most ancient narratives of human history were cut in stone.[13] Lucan said the same in this extract from his *Pharsalia* about the scripts of the Phoenicians and the Egyptians:[14]

> If we are to believe the story, the Phoenicians were the first to venture
> To record speech permanently with primitive signs.
> Memphis had not yet learnt to weave books from papyrus
> But only preserved in stone the shape of birds
> And wild animals as signs of their magical discourse.

Extensive material is also provided in Plutarch's treatise, *De Iside et Osiride* [On Isis and Osiris], in which not only is it confirmed that the greatest Greek philosophers traveled to Egypt so as to learn the mystical wisdom and meet with Egyptian teachers but also many more of the hieroglyphic signs were explained to them which stimulated interpretation of these symbols and their further use. Thus it was said that the Egyptians designated the King and Lord Osiris with an eye and a scepter [Plutarch: Isis, ch. 51]; by an "old child"[15] they signified antiquity and posterity [ch. 32]; by certain numbers, various gods [ch. 26]; by a statue without hands, the incorruptibility of judges [ch. 10] and so on. In the fully excavated temple inscriptions of Sais and Hermopolis there are to be found further hieroglyphs as, for instance, a child, an old man, a sparrow hawk, a fish and a hippopotamus, which signify childhood, old age, the divine, hatred and shamelessness respectively [ch. 32] or a hippo on which a sparrow hawk fights with a snake; this signified the evil god Typhon and his subjugated power [ch. 50]. The remark of Plutarch [ch. 10] that the maxims of Pythagoras—the so-called Pythagorean *symbola*—can be said to be derived from the hieroglyphs[16] especially contributed to the inclination of the

12 Pliny, *The Natural History*, 36.14.

13 Tacitus, *Annals*, 11.14.

14 Lucan, *Pharsalia*, 3 ll. 220–224. The *Pharsalia* is an epic poem on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey.

15 That is, *paidariogeron* or child with a wise mind. This epithet had been traditionally applied to St. Makarios who in 360 founded a monastery in Egypt which still exists.

16 Plutarch lists some of the *symbola* in *Moralia*, 12 E–F, *De Liberis Educandis*, 17.1.

humanists for their part to express their own sayings in the form of images. On the other hand, there is the hint from one of the 25 letters of the surviving Egyptian alphabet [Plutarch: ch. 56], if not from the hieroglyphs but from a closely related script, of what is possible in view of the excessive amount of information which could be derived from the "enigmatic" hieroglyphs.[17] Indeed Plutarch in his *Symposium* (Quaestione 5) actually gave only one example of this simple script, namely the hare as a symbol of keen hearing.[18]

Apuleius was also someone who explicitly expounded upon the Egyptian mystery rites. His *Metamorphoses*, the famous history of the Golden Ass, contains an extensive description of the symbols carried by the priests in procession; for example, as he says (bk. xi, ch. 10) the open left hand is a sign of fairness. Later he describes very accurately the relevant passages on the sacred books deposited in the temple. Apuleius describes them as:

> books written in an incomprehensible script revealing elaborate sayings depicted partly in animal figures, partly also in knot or wheel shapes, twisted or horn shapes and pointed signs. They are clearly visible on rolls of papyrus both in hieroglyphs and in sacred script.
>
> BK 11, CH. 22

Also Lucian, the contemporary of Apuleius, briefly mentions the hieroglyphs in the passage in his *Hermotimus* where Lycinus proposed that letters should not be written on the lots[19] but rather signs and figures should be used such as the script the Egyptians employ, like men with dogs or lion's heads or just simple, natural figures such as men, horses, cocks, dogs and lions.

A further important, if also relatively recently accessible source, whose meaning is not fully understood, is illustrated by the *Stromata* of Clement of Alexandria, who in the fifth book gives the following information about the meaning of the Egyptian script:

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17 The meaning of this sentence is not entirely clear. Possibly Volkmann intends to say that since the uniliteral Egyptian alphabet (that is those sounds represented by only one consonant) is now known to number twenty-four (possibly equating to Plutarch's twenty-five) it would be much easier to comprehend than using all the hieroglyphs of which the most common numbered at least seven hundred. This uniliteral alphabet which mirrored the hieratic alphabet used for every day writing alongside the hieroglyphic symbols is now presumed to be the origin of most of the world's alphabets. See W. P. Lehmann, *Historical Linguistics*, Routledge, 1992, pp. 49 ff.

18 This reference by Plutarch is actually in his *Symposiacs* 4.5 not the *Symposium*.

19 Here Lucian is discussing how to identify the tokens which were used for drawing lots.

> Those Egyptians who are instructed, first learn that kind of writing called the epistolographic, then secondly the hieratic which the sacred scribes use and last of all the hieroglyphic. This is divided again into two classes; the one consists of simple phonograms with a literal meaning, the other is a symbolic sign script. The symbolic script describes things either literally through imitation or with symbolic signs (figurative) or by means of a kind of allegory through certain puzzles (enigmatic). So they make a circle for the sun, and a moon-like sign to write the moon. Those are examples of the direct manner of writing. But to use the symbolic style, to transpose and transfer, change and transform as much as they choose, they use characters. This is an example of the third, enigmatic technique; for the stars, because of their wandering courses, they depict them as the bodies of snakes; and for the sun they make the picture of a scarab beetle because it makes a ball of ox-dung and rolls it before itself.

And so on. In addition, Clement gives various other hieroglyphic signs, such as the eyes and ears for the all-seeing and all-hearing divinity, the crocodile for impudence, and the like, so that from this one gets further confirmation of these familiar references to the meaning of the hieroglyphs. It was the same with Plotinus who in the eighth book of the fifth *Ennead* writes of his view of the customs of the Egyptians who either as a result of an appropriate philosophical inference or from a natural predisposition believed that their mysteries were to be understood not as a result of writing imitating speech (thus phonetic) but through the symbolism of a single object which for ever after would allow an understanding of its inner meaning (see Giehlow page 50 and note 39).[20]

From these extracts, the humanists became convinced that Egyptian knowledge of the sacred hieroglyphs, must be identical to the sacred thoughts and images of the divine ideas, as can be understood from the text purportedly written by the neoPlatonist Jamblichus *On the Egyptian mysteries*,[21] according to which the Egyptians through their symbolic images had re-created both the nature of the universe and the outlines of the nature of God. It was from this text that the Greek philosophers obtained their understanding of these matters. For instance, they used the primeval mud as the symbol of material and a god seated on a lotus flower to signify divine intelligence. The same Jamblichus

20 Giehlow (2015) at this reference gives the extract from the Enneads in Latin.

21 A recent translation of *On the Mysteries* is by E. C. Clarke (Brill 2004). The first English translation by Thomas Taylor, first published in 1821, can be found online in the Internet Archive.

offered in his *Protrepticus*[22] a large number of the aforementioned Pythagorean *symbola* which later were so closely associated with the hieroglyphs.

The *Præparatio Evangelica*, the work of the Christian writer Eusebius, with numerous remarks on hieroglyphs, was also circulated and interpreted at an early stage. This was partly derived from other authors, from Plato, Didodorus, Plutarch, Porphyry and others and it discussed comprehensively the religion and symbolism of the Egyptians and their influence upon the Greek philosophers. As well as the common symbolic forms taken from human and animal models, there were also quite specific hieroglyphs. Thus the ring with an eagle-headed snake signified the universe; the sparrow-hawk, fire and mind; the crocodile, drinking water; the weasel, speech; the hippotamus, Typhon and lastly, the poppy (after Porphyry) signified the city as symbolic of a gathering of people. The remark (book II, chapter 1) that the Egyptians were accustomed to putting images of animals on their helmets is important since it must be that from this time the link between heraldry and the hieroglyphs was established.

Then Ammianus Marcellinus, from the fourth century AD, whose historical work Poggio unearthed in his travels in Germany, in the eighteenth and twentieth books gave explicit descriptions of the obelisks and of their hieroglyphs which he designated specifically with these names. He says that a single script served for several names and words and even that they also sometimes signified whole phrases and names; in particular, the vulture was a sign for nature; the bee was a symbol of royalty whose strength must be united with clemency just as with the bee the sting is combined with honey. He even gives the complete text in Greek of a wonderful inscription for the king Ramses III by the Egyptian, Hermapion,[23] in which he praises the king as Lord of the world, one favored by Apollo and the immortal son of the sun.

Lastly, in the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius one finds further references; thus in book 1, chapter 19: "When the Egyptians wish to signify the earth in the hieroglyphic script, they used the figure of a bull" and again in chapter 21: "When

22 Iamblichus' *Proptrepticus* is based on the *Protrepticus* of Aristotle and helps to reconstruct Aristotle's work which is lost. Iamblichus' *Protrepticus* was one of ten works he intended to write on Pythagorean philosophy of which he finished four. Thirty-nine *symbola* are given in chapter XXI and many more were listed in various Renaissance collections. The original Greek of the *Proptrepticus* is available in the Teubner edition of 1888 edited by Pistelli. See also Excursus 5 p. 224.

23 Apart from this reference in Eusebius, Hermapion is unknown. The inscription he refers to is believed to be that on the Flaminian Obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo in Rome. The translation of Hermapion which is more that forty lines long has many similarities to a modern translation. One example can be found in R. Cooper, *A Short History of the Egyptian Obelisks*, Bagster, 1877, pp. 77 ff.

they wish to express Osiris in the hieroglyphic script they signify him by the sun and thus they carved a scepter in it and placed an eye on it.... The same Egyptians, if they wish to signify the sun on statues, show the same with cropped hair on the right side of which the hair has been untouched." By this is signified the dawn of the day.

From Cassiodorus and Rufinus one can find significant indications of the mystical connection of the hieroglyphs with Christian theology; thus one reads in Rufinus' *History of the Church* in book XI, chapter 29: "The origin of the sign of the cross of our Lord should be taken from that Egyptian script which they call the hieratic. They say that the meaning of this script or sign is the life to come." In such a manner, it was natural that there were revealed new relational and interpretative possibilities for this unique art.

One has to visualize the complete picture; that from all these sources, not just from one single discovery, but from every copy, interpretation and edition, these possibilities came to be only gradually or partly understood and fixed in the mind of the humanists, so that a correct appreciation and what they could interpret or create from them, could only be realized at a later stage. But what almost totally surpassed all the above in its influence on the hieroglyphics of the Renaissance was a highly remarkable work, for which an accurate title would be the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo[24] or Horus (Orus) Apollo.[25] The author of this work, who to the Egyptians was known by the name of Nilous, must rank as unknown, since he cannot in any way be identical to the historically established bearer of this name.[26] It is not clear whether he lived in the fourth or even the second century AD and perhaps the name is just a later addition and was constructed from the names of the gods Horus and Apollo. The translation from Egyptian into Greek was made by an equally unknown individual by the

24 For a summary and listing including bibliographic data of the translations of the Horapollo see Sandra Sider, *Horapollo*, Catalogus Translationum, 6, (eds. Cranz F. E. and Kristeller P. O.), Catholic University of America Press, 1986, pp. 15–29. The most complete critical edition of the Horapollo is F. Sbordone, *Hori Apollinis Hieroglyphica*, Naples: Loffredo, 1940.

25 See Conrad Leemans, *Horapollinis Niloi Hieroglyphica.* Amsterdam, 1835 (V) and Giehlow (2015) p. 11 and passim.

26 Two people with the name of Horapollo are given by the Suda, the first of whom, coming from Phanebytis in Egypt, lived under Theodosius (fourth century CE), while the other, also Egyptian, was active under Zeno (fifth century CE). In the first place, one can contrast the different places of birth and, acknowledge that Νειλῶος or Νειλαῖος must be the Egyptian form; it may be added that the *Hieroglyphica* is not among the works listed by the Suda.

name of Philip[27] so that the whole textual tradition appears to be quite unreliable and incomplete. The absorption of Greek names and places points to the Alexandrian cultural milieu in which the fusion of Egyptian and Greek knowledge occurred. Now the work, which was acquired in 1419 by a priest, Cristoforo de Buondelmonti, with other manuscripts on the island of Andros and brought to Florence,[28] contains in two books just the signs for and the interpretations of a selection of the so-called enigmatic hieroglyphs, as was defined (see above p. 14) by Clement of Alexandria to be the last stage in the development of the sacred script.[29] There is a complete disregard of the phonetic signs, just immediate often rather imaginative definitions compiled in a later era which naturally do not contribute to a correct interpretation of the actual hieroglyphs. No wonder that the modern Egyptologist attaches little importance to Horapollo and that his work even just quite recently was frankly seen by his most distinguished commentator as a lunatic fantasy.[30] But for the humanists, it was a further endorsement of their view that each hieroglyph represented a single idea of which the meaning was self-evident, a view which obviously is alien to the correct method of interpreting the hieroglyphs but should present a basis for the study of the unique hieroglyphics of the Renaissance. Weixlgärtner has, in the appendix to Giehlow's edition, a very valuable list in German of the complete (about 190) hieroglyphs of Horapollo and this must be revisited many times to understand the origin of the various extracts.[31] Here it suffices for the time being, to give a few examples of the general characteristics of some of the particularly representative and frequently employed pictures and their meanings of which several are already known from other ancient sources. Thus an eel signifies a spiteful man; eyes and a scepter means Osiris; a she-bear licking her cubs is the original unformed man; bees are those

27 The subtitle to the manuscript merely states that the text was translated into Greek by Philip but that he added entries composed by others.

28 Buondelmonti's manuscript is now in the Laurentian Library, Florence, under shelf-mark Plut. 69, 27 beginning on folio 68^{r}. Buondelmonti's signature appears at the end of the text but two folios from the text are missing.

29 As we saw, Clement calls "enigmatic" those hieroglyphs which have an allegorical or metaphorical relationship to their meaning. The example he gives is a snake as the symbol for a star since they both "wander about."

30 See A. Erman, "Die Entzifferung der Hieroglyphen," *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (1922) in which the aspirations of the humanists are barely touched upon (**v**). As Volkmann says, this article on pages XXVII–XLIV of the Philosophical-Historical Section of the *Sitzungsberichte* recounts only the immediate leadup to the work of Champollion.

31 Giehlow (1915) p. 218. This list is not reproduced in Giehlow (2015).

people who are subjects of a king; an elephant means a strong (or honest) man; fire and water means purity; two hippopotamus feet = iniquity; a goshawk or a sparrow-hawk = God, excellence, victory, quick success; a dog with royal garments = a leader or a judge; the ibis = a heart; a flying crane = a man who is knowledgeable about divine things; a crane with a stone in his claw = an alert man who is on guard for his enemies; a crocodile = a rapacious or angry man; a lion = anger; the forepart of a lion = strength; a man walking without a head or a man's feet placed in water = something impossible; a bundle of papyrus = the origin of the human race; a Phoenix = soul or perpetual rebirth; a salamander = man burnt by fire; a snake which sheds its tail = time; a snake which hold itself by the tail = the world; a bull = moderate courage; a stork = someone who loves his parents; a ram = power, etc.[32] The Horapollo was then circulated in a great number of manuscripts and later widely translated and printed with and without illustrations. One can mention as an aside here that medieval Christian symbolism has also exercised its influence on the hieroglyphics of the humanists and there should be further research on this topic. What's more it is obvious that one of the most important sources of this symbolism, also originating in Alexandria and widely circulated in medieval times, was the so-called *Physiologus*[33] with its morally orientated collection of animal and human characteristics. On the one hand this represented an artistic Christian substitute for the symbolism of the hieroglyphs and on the other it incorporated many truly Egyptian elements which could also be traced to this new hieroglyphics. Thus the descriptions of the lion, beaver, hoopoo, stork, pelican and phoenix corresponds with that of the Horapollo. Also there existed in the Middle Ages that very popular text book *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* [The marriage of Philology and Mercury] by the African, Martianus Capella (c. 400 AD) which emphasized the fundamental wisdom of the Egyptians and took the origin of the seven liberal arts back to Egypt. It was derived from books with a script based on animal pictures which also served as the model for the sculptures on Egyptian temples.[34]

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32 The edition and translation of Boas gives the meaning of all the hieroglyphs of Horapollo: George Boas, *The Hieroglyphics of Horapollo*, reprinted in the Bollingen Series XXIII, Princeton U. P., 1993. The edition has an excellent short introduction to the whole field of Renaissance symbolism but the English translation has been criticized as unreliable. Giehlow (2015) includes the Dürer images of the first book of the Horapollo.

33 For the *Physiologus* see p. 92 nt. 17.

34 The importance of the book lies as the first description of the seven liberal arts which were used as the basis of the theory of education for much of the remainder of the medieval period.

This interest in the mystical and reverential art of Egypt endured throughout the whole Middle Ages but a true understanding of it dwindled to such an extent that the obelisks, for instance, were treated as Roman monuments to the emperors and while scholars still sought the meaning of the hieroglyphic script no one could make sense of its origin. Here, the research of the Italian and above all the Florentine humanists ventured into entirely new and untouched territory.

Cristoforo de' Buondelmonti himself, the discoverer of the Horapollo, hardly realized the importance of his find for the hieroglyphic art but he had close relations with Poggio Bracciolini[35] who made a list of the obelisks of Rome, translated Diodorus and brought the text of Ammianus Marcellinus from Germany. He also knew Niccolò de Niccoli,[36] who by 1423 had already singlehandedly copied this Ammianus and also had made a copy of the Horapollo. When in the year 1435 Ciriaco da Ancona[37] visited Egypt, he sent two copies of a hieroglyphic pyramid inscription back to Florence, in fact one for the Signoria and the other for Niccolò Niccoli who, as Ciriaco wrote in his travel journal, "is someone most interested in these things." He himself freely categorized as a phonetic script these "archetypal epigrams," so that contemporaries did not hesitate to believe that he was able to decipher them. Carlo Marsuppini[38] in an encomium to him says:

35 His full name was Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459). He was one of the greatest book collectors of the era, making use of his official time as an apostolic secretary to search French and German monasteries for manuscripts. He was also a prolific author and connected by marriage to the Buondelmontis.

36 Niccolò di Niccoli (1364–1437) had the reputation as the greatest classical bibliophile of his time. He was a friend of the Medicis and it was to him that the precious manuscript of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo was entrusted after it was brought to Florence from Greece by Buondelmonti in 1419. The manuscripts of the Horapollo are reviewed in Giehlow (2015), Chapter 2, in particular notes iii, 4, 24 and 41 but there is no specific indication that Niccoli copied the original manuscript before 1423. Niccoli is also credited with inventing italic script.

37 Now usually called Cyriaco of Ancona (1391–1452). Modern biographies include *Cyriac of Ancona: Later Travels.* (ed. and trans. by E. W. Bodnar and C. Foss) Harvard U. P., 2004 and "Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444–1445" (ed. and trans. by E. W. Bodnar and C. Mitchell), *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 112 (1976).

38 Carlo Marsuppini (1399–1453) was a humanist author and one-time chancellor of the Florentine Republic.

> For you reveal complete insight into the wonder of the pyramids,
> You read an unknown script, derived from strange creatures.

Francesco Filelfo[39] was also preoccupied with the hieroglyphs and, as an expert in Greek, doubtless studied the Horapollo; a wonderful example of this exists in the evidence of a letter in his possession from him to Francesco Scalamonti (Milan, 1444)[40] in which he writes among other things:

> For the Egyptians name the sacred script that in which they signify words with certain animals and signs so that, for example, they portrayed an eel which meant both someone who is envious and envy as such because the eel does not coexist with other fishes and in most cases it keeps itself away from them. And from the image of a hare they intend to mean hearing because the hare has the sharpest hearing.

The hieroglyph of the eel derives directly from Horapollo while that of the hare from Plutarch (see above p. 13).

Marsilio Ficino,[41] the leader of the Platonic Academy in Florence, dedicated himself even more systematically to these studies. In 1463 he translated from the Greek the *Pimander* subtitled *De Potestate et sapienta*, an Alexandrine work, which had been attributed to Hermes Trismegistos and which inter alia declared that letters were invented from the shapes of animals and trees.[42] In

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39 Francesco Filelfo (1398–1481) spent the early part of his career as an emissary for the Venetians in Constantinople where he learned Greek and collected a large number of Greek manuscripts. He returned to Italy in about 1427 and lived in Florence, Siena, Milan and Rome where he lectured and translated Greek texts. He left very little original work.

40 *Letters of Francesco Filelfo*, Venice 1502, p. 34 (v). A full listing of both manuscripts and modern editions of the letters of Filelfo is cited by A. Field, *The Intellectual Struggle for Florence*, Oxford U. P., 2017, p. 187, nt. 1.

41 It is difficult to summarize the achievements of Ficino in a short space. Suffice it to say here, that Ficino rediscovered and translated Plotinus, translated the Corpus Hermeticum and the works of Pseudo-Dionysius, Porphyry and Proclus as well as some of Plato's Dialogues. He was appointed the head of the new Platonic Academy in Florence by Cosimo de Medici. His most important original philosophical work was the *Theologica Platonica*, emulating the work of Proclus of the same name written 1,000 years earlier. In this work, Ficino emphasized the immortality of the soul both as the principal theme of Platonism and as the common feature of a reconciliation between Platonism and Christianity. He made a determined effort to combine the theories of Platonism and Christian theology on equal terms and was prepared to draw on his knowledge of Hermetic, magical, astrological, oriental and even Aristotelian texts in this task.

42 There appears to be nothing in the *Pimander* relating to the invention of letters.

1483 he also did a short translation of Jamblichus' *On the Egyptian Mysteries*, as well as, in 1492, a *Commentary on Plotinus.* From these works, he came round to the view that the Egyptian priests did not take their scripts from expressions of the mysteries but just from plants, trees and animals and that from them they extracted the most profound wisdom as well as an understanding through images of the divine ideas of things. As an example, he gives the snake biting his tail for the concept of "time" and recalls with this the similar symbol "which Horus writes."

Further translations of the Greek sources stimulated and threw even further light on this preoccupation with the hieroglyphs; thus in 1500 Filippo Beroaldo of Bologna wrote an elaborate commentary on the *Golden Ass* of Apuleius in which, among other things, he described quite correctly the different scripts of the sacred books as hieroglyphic and hieratic; he also provided a compilation of the most important classical literature on the subject. Equally, the continuing excavations of antique remains within the territories of Rome unearthed countless Egyptian monuments which awoke new interest and stimulated again the wish to interpret the meaning of the Roman obelisks.

Also there were the artists. They were obsessed by the ruins and they often ranged this world of antiquities with the scholars, measuring and drawing it as best they could. A striking example of the cooperation of this inquiring and creative spirit is offered by Antonio Averlino Filarete when he says in the description of the Circus Maximus in the twelfth book of his treatise on architecture (1464):[43]

> there stood in the central point, an obelisk, which was covered with Egyptian script. These had earlier become obsolete; they were made from nothing but signs, be it from animals—like owls, snakes etc.—or other things—such as saws, eyes etc. Only a very few could be interpreted; the poet Francesco Filelfo told me that each of the animals signifies one thing, for instance the snake means envy. In this way these signs were arranged together like our letters.

Also, it is especially worthy of remark that such an obelisk still lies buried in the Circus Maximus.[44]

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43 The best copy of Filarete's *Libro architecttonico*, in twenty-five books, is the *Codex Magliabechiano* now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence.

44 Presumably this sentence was extracted by Volkmann from Filarete since the obelisk found in the Circus Maximus is the Flaminian Obelisk (see above p. 21) which was

Above all there was the great scholar of art, Leon Battista Alberti,[45] who took the most lively interest in all these questions; many statements on Egyptian culture which indicate a knowledge of Poggio's interpretation of Diodorus are found in his *Ten Books on Architecture*, completed in 1452 but not printed until 1485. We should not, in a study of the hieroglyphs, overlook this work. Bernardo Rucellai in his *De Urbe Roma* described a walk through the ruins of Rome which he, with Lorenzo Medici and Donato Acciaiuoli, undertook under Alberti's learned guidance. Hence we can see how these men, absorbed and engaged as they were in the spirit of the past, strove to study and throw light on the ancient monuments. The obelisk in the Circus Maximus is also mentioned in this work. The understanding that Alberti had of these things can fortunately be found in his description of the sculptures and symbols for tombs in book VIII, chapter 4 of his remarkable text. He says there that the vulgar script had over a long period fallen into oblivion as had now happened to the corrupt Etruscan script although the sign language of the Egyptians had remained comprehensible over the years. Thus God is signified by an eye, nature by a vulture, a king by a bee, time by a ring, happiness with an ox, etc.:

> But they think that the art of writing which the Egyptians use here, could easily be used throughout the world among those who were initiated to share the most worthy sentiments.

Thus from this Egyptian custom, many other things followed: for instance that the pillar erected to commemorate the Cynic Diogenes bore the representation of a dog[46] and the tomb of Archimedes was recognized by Cicero in the ruins of Syracuse when he saw a cylinder near a sphere.[47] A statue of the mother of the Egyptian king Simandius bore a threefold crown from her threefold characteristic of daughter, wife and mother and the pillar of Sardanapalus had, as a

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reerected in 1587 in the Piazza del Popolo. It had originally been brought from Egypt and placed in the Circus Maximus by the Emperor Augustus.

45 Alberti (1406–1472), one of the greatest polymaths of the Renaissance, was primarily an architect but also a mathematician, poet, artist and author. His most important works were *De Pittura*, [On Painting], of 1435, in which he first described perspective, and the ten volume *De re aedificatoria*, Florence: Niccolò di Lorenzo, 1485, [On Building]. In this last Alberti explored the possibility that the hieroglyphs were the lost universal language.

46 This was either because the word Cynic derives from the same root in Greek as the word dog or because Diogenes notoriously praised the dog as a creature of many virtues.

47 *Tusculan Disputations*, **V**, 64–66.

symbol of his gaiety, a clapping of hands.[48] The Romans inscribed the deeds of great men in a similar manner: "hence pillars, hence triumphal arches, hence staterooms full of painted and chiseled history."[49]

On the one hand, it follows from this that what Alberti accepted in the Egyptian script as the technique of the enigmatic hieroglyphs (he called them signs not letters!) were symbols for whole words, concepts or sentences. On the other, we know definitely that Egyptian and Syrian, Greek and Latin intermixed and blended into a single symbolic idiom which could be understood by every educated person and only by such a person so that without further difficulty he would also be able to understand all lapidary works.[50] But therein lies the single origin of Renaissance hieroglyphics, for nothing was more certain than that all humanists also wanted to make use of such unique and obviously recognizable signs. The great influence that Alberti had upon numerous other scholars and artists as a result of the wide circulation of his book not only in Italy but also soon thereafter in Germany and France and his interpretation of these symbols gave him far-reaching importance. Under his direction "the humanists began to write letters with rebuses, thus creating from the origin of the word hieroglyph the word rebus and making with this enigmatic writing medals, columns, monumental gateways and all the other possible artistic creations of the Renaissance." (Giehlow (2015) p. 69)[51]

Actually medals and coins were certainly the first artistic medium in which creative activity for personal use was displayed in the field of the Renaissance hieroglyph and it is certainly no coincidence that the medal which Alberti had made for himself by Matteo de' Pasti bears obvious hieroglyphic characteristics.[52] The flying eye on the reverse which is found on Egyptian seals[53] can be interpreted by the Ciceronian motto of Alberti, "Quid tum?" meaning "What then?" that is, after death. The eye signifies from Diodorus the judgment of God, the flight of the sparrowhawk, fleeting events; thus the whole meant readiness to be called suddenly before the judgment of God. It was not only

48 The tomb of Sardanapalus was supposedly shown to Alexander the Great in 333 BC. Sardanapalus was reputed to be a great hedonist and the inscription on the tomb read (in so many words) "eat, drink and be merry for the rest of life is not worth a clap of the hands." There is however no historical record of Sardanapalus.

49 Book VIII, Chapter 4: Hinc columnae, hinc arcus triumphales, hinc porticus referti picta, sculpta ve historia.

50 Such a "definite" supposition by Volkmann seems difficult to support.

51 See page 159 below for a discussion of the origin of the word rebus.

52 For an extended discussion of Alberti's medal, see E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissanc*e, Norton, 1966 pp. 231 ff.

53 A picture of such a seal is shown in Giehlow (2015) p. 74.

FIGURE 1
Matteo de Pasti; Medallion of Leon Battista Alberti. From Heiss, Medallions of the Renaissance.

antique coins that were engraved with the signs of animals, plants and other hieroglyphic symbols which cannot now be interpreted in just a historical or comparative sense according to our own modern understanding but the mottos and devices of princes and gentlemen were also harmlessly employed in the same way and with a single artistic form of expression. These were medals engraved to commemorate and promote their own fame with meanings which somewhat corresponded to the Egyptian enigmatic images.

So first let us correctly elucidate the appropriate allegories of some Renaissance medals. Giehlow (p. 76) has adduced an excellent example of these from the medal of the Duke of Urbino, Federigo da Montefeltro[54] made in 1468 by Clemens Urbinas[55] and which bore on the reverse the inscription:

> Mars ferus et summum tangens Cytherea tonantem
> Dant tibi regna pares et tua fata movent.
> [Fierce Mars and the Cytherean Venus, with the most high god of Thunder,
> contribute equally to your power and influence your destiny.]

54 Federigo da Montefeltro (1422–1482) was one of the most successful condottieri (mercenary soldiers) of the time. His successes (supposedly he never lost a war) enabled him to patronize the arts and create one of the greatest libraries of the Renaissance.

55 Apart from this one medal signed by him nothing else is known about Clemens Urbinas.

FIGURE 2
Clemens Urbinas: Medallion of Federigo da Montefeltro. From Jahrbuch der Preuss, Kunstsammlungen.

The corresponding statement, which according to Friedländer,[56] is quite commonly taken to be an allegory of war and peace, shows itself on closer examination as a word for word confirmation of these verses in "hieroglyphic" symbols: an eagle with a thunderbolt (Jupiter tonans) carries on outstretched wings a beam (equally divided) in the middle of which there is a ball (the earth) while on the left side is shown armor and a sword (Mars) and on the right a branch of myrtle and a powder brush (Venus). Above one can see the three stars, Jupiter, Mars and Venus which govern the character of the Duke. This represents a textbook example of Renaissance hieroglyphics—the common understanding of which was actually a completely non-Egyptian form of speech. Even if the transcription is not correct, the sense is hardly difficult to guess, and so we must, even where such sense is missing, make an assumption about the basic concept notwithstanding that the relationship with the hieroglyph from the foregoing example remains obvious. Thus the elephant on another medallion of Matteo de' Pasti—for Isotta of Rimini—would certainly signify, from the sense of the hieroglyph, loyalty or meekness[57] and besides

56 J. Friedländer, "Italian medallions of the 15th century," *Jahrbuch der Preuss. Kunstsammlungen I–III* (1880–82), III, p. 192 (V) and see also Wind pp. 95–96.

57 William S. Hecksher "Bernini's Elephant and Obelisk," *The Art Bulletin* 29, 3, (Sep. 1947), p. 173, describes this interpretation as mistaken. He points out that Isotta was pregnant at the time and the elephant on the medal is reaching for a plant which could be a mandrake. Traditionally, the female elephant gave a piece of the mandrake to her husband to encourage him in his otherwise sluggish interest in sexual matters. Isotta was the third wife of Sigismondo Malatesta. He murdered his first two wives but loved Isotta to the extent that she became known as the "divine" Isotta. Matteo de Pasti also worked in Rimini

these many other symbols were adduced and subsequently often used. These included the unicorn, the pelican, the sphere of the earth with a wheel and so on. The medallion of King Alfons[58] by Victor Pisano shows an eagle sitting on branch of a tree with in front of him a hunted deer and around him four vultures; the inscription *Liberalitas augusta* [Famous generosity] refers here obviously to a symbolic reference to the frequently used animal fable of the generosity of the eagle. Also the medallion of Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga by Sperandio can only be understood from the same kind of interpretation. On the reverse can be seen a seated lynx in front of a pointed obelisk-like pyramid with the inscription *Enigmata*; on the other side lie weapons which are repeated in the clouds above. Again there is here a question of a hieroglyphically used fable already current in the Middle Ages which in the *Hieroglyphica* of Pierio Valeriano[59] discussed later would signify the lynx which of all animals has the sharpest eyes so that supposedly it can see through mountains because it could discern the mirage, so to speak, of the concealed object.[60]

The medallion of the Genoese Doge, Baptista Fulgoso, by Baptista Elias de Janua (from around 1480) shows the warbler, the bird which flies into the mouth of the crocodile to eat the scraps remaining there. It has the inscription *Peculiaris audacia et victus*, [Particular bravery and nourishment] an image which also was familiar from the hieroglyphs since here there really was an art developed from symbols or supposed hieroglyphic notation. Further investigations of medallions or other artworks of this time should, after a key is found to the hieroglyphs of the humanists, reveal further unexpected examples in the field.

Naturally, all this was subservient to the new lust for fame of the Renaissance, to the search by every individual town and family for a great past and famous ancestry; and they did not hesitate to go as far as they could in their search for the mixture of truth and fantastic fiction as the methods of Fra Giovanni da Viterbo (Johannes Annius Viterbensis) demonstrate. In his seventeen volume catalogue *Antiquitatum variorum* from around 1498, he brilliantly and

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as Alberti's assistant in the design of the Tempio Malatestiano sponsored by Sigismondo but which was unfinished due to the latter's death.

58 Alfonso v of Aragon (1394–1458). Victor Pisano is known as Pisanello. A copy of both reverse and obverse of this medal can be seen in G. F. Hill and G. Pollard, *Renaissance Medals*, Phaidon, 1967.

59 Volkmann has no bibliography; I have used the 1567 Basel edition of 1567 of Valeriano to which all subsequent citations are made.

60 The idea was that the lynx could see in a mirage above the mountain what was reflected from beyond the mountain; Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, Bk. 11, Fol. 85. See for a detailed discussion, Giehlow (2015) p. 77. ff.

faultlessly falsified a number of authors of Egyptian, Chaldaic, Greek and Latin texts so as to be able to link Etruscan-Roman history with the earliest times and the primitive knowledge of the Egyptians. In this way, he persuaded himself that the "Gens Annia" had already in the earliest times been honored with this family name. But in addition to these literary forgeries which were seen through at an early stage by other scholars, he also was able to incorporate his ideas into a hieroglyphic inscription on an antique monument—a further important example of how during this time, the "hieroglyphic script" was used to express things in practical ways. In the church of S. Lorenzo in Viterbo stands a small column the carvings of which Annius either completely falsified or greatly altered, and which he interpreted as "the sacred Egyptian letters." It shows an oak tree bearing fruit; some branches of the tree are divided in such a way that they depict scepters and other branches are entwined so that they take the form of eyes. Above are two heads, one a male with half-cropped head and beard and the other a female, and on the root of the tree, there stands a crocodile or dragon. The branches bear two basket-like bird's nests with crying youngsters and on both sides are two flying falcons and further away two resting falcons. Between these are vine-clustered strands entwining the oak. This, following the well-known column of Osiris described in Diodorus 1,27,[61] must represent the inscription of Osiris in which it is related that he, with one of the muses and with Hercules Aegyptius, during his triumphal journey in Italy, founded high culture, agriculture and viniculture and the like. According to him, the forms of the scepter and eye in the tree signify Osiris from Macrobius, the eye signifies the guardian of law from Diodorus, the branching of the stems the extent of his triumphal journey, the oak the aboriginal nourishment of humankind, the truncated branches the art of pruning trees, the nests the helpless youth beset in Italy, and the roosters are again the symbol of Osiris as the teacher of husbandry. The flying falcons represent, after Diodorus, the speed of the help of his son Hercules Aegyptius, the sitting falcons represent the might of his grandsons Lestrigon and Phorcus. The crocodile (see Horapollo and Diodorus) represents the evil giants oppressing the Italians, the vine signifies viticulture, the male head is Osiris, who did not allow his hair to be cut until the end of his journey through Italy and the female head is the accompanying muse. In view of this precise expression and interpretation by Annius it is

61 The remarks about Osiris do not derive from Diodorus who says nothing about Osiris visiting Italy. Volkmann has taken them word for word from Giehlow's passage on Annius which in turn derives from the forgeries in the *Commentaria* of Annius. Osiris is described as the inventor of viniculture in Diodorus 1.15. Diodorus 1.27 gives only a general review of the journeys of Osiris and does not mention Hercules Aegyptius.

doubly unfortunate that nothing has been preserved even in half-ornamental form from this interesting object depicting the hieroglyphic script of the Renaissance which could have been used as symbolic representation. Annius himself says in one passage that sacred pictures are those which immediately compel the viewer to inquire of their meaning and which would seem to provide the viewer with an explanation of some secret meaning rather than being just decoration. It is therefore a very appealing assumption by Giehlow that it was Annius who, in view of his close relationship to Alexander VI, made the suggestion for the scenes from the myths of Isis and Osiris in the decoration of the Borgia apartments in the Vatican by Pinturicchio, depicted on the ceiling of the Sala delle Stampi (now named Sala dei Santi). Among the grotesques near the sacred bull are the arms of the Borgia and this corresponds with the genealogical invention of Annius that the Borgia were descended from Hercules Aegyptius.

We have hitherto only dealt with isolated plastic and semi-decorative examples of the humanistic hieroglyphs and now we can examine in a systematic way an extensive graphic exposition of the most precious woodcuts of the early Renaissance which will give us a more precise understanding of the field and which enables us to name the starting point of our investigation. The *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Fra Francesco Colonna, which was completed in about 1467[62] and written partially in Latin and partially in a hybrid of Latin and Italian, was printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1499 and had an extraordinary influence throughout all the countries of Europe. Here we can add nothing more on the contents of the work or its author, a Dominican monk from Venice who lived in Treviso, nor in general on the beautiful illustrations for which we need only refer to the rich literature which embraces the subject.[63] On the other hand we can undertake a complete examination of all

62 It is now believed that revisions to the text were being made right up to the date of publication in 1499.

63 See besides Giehlow and Ilg and others, for example, Claudius Popelin, *Le Songe de Poliphile ou Hypnérotomachie du Frère Fancesco Colonna*, Paris: 1883, as well as Léon Dorez, *Des origines et de la diffusion du 'Songes de Poliphile' Etudes Aldines II*, Revue des Bibliothèques, VI (1896), pp. 239 ff (V). Since Volkmann's time there has been an extensive outpouring of commentary on the *Hypnerotomachia*, on the book's contents, authorship and place in the history of the printed book. A bibliography is given on-line at http://knops.home.xs4all.nl/hypo1.html (5/11/17) which is derived principally from Pozzi and Ciapponi's edition of the *Hypnerotomachia* (Padua: Antenori, 1964). This latter contains the full text and a critical edition of the Poliphilean language and sources. Another bibliography is given in Liane Lefaivre's *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*,

the hieroglyphic images it contains which represent the most important resource for all future collections of hieroglyphs and emblems.

The fantastic "Dream of Love" which is set in the form of the glorification of the antique (embodied in Polia) [the heroine of the book] by the narrator (named Poliphilo) and appears to be strongly influenced by L. B. Alberti,[64] widely reflects the wonderland of Egypt the exotic nature of which has already been referred to as an inspiration for many of the ancient authors. It thus dominates every mystical-romantic conception of Egypt, which was prevalent from then on, to the extent that the mysterious land of the pyramids, sphinxes, obelisks and hieroglyphs served as an example and pattern for all future, unique, arcane or grand festivities. It was, so to speak, an Egyptian scene from the Magic Flute.... In the countless illustrations [of the *Hypnerotomachia*] in the most delicate of "sketches" [umrisstil][65] which from one small "b" in one of the many woodcuts have been attributed on occasion to Bellini and sometimes to Bernardo Parentino,[66] there are found not only images of complete obelisks and pyramids but also certain signs which the author calls "hieroglyphs" which delineate whole sentences and which boldly set out a textual description in the form of an exotic and artificial puzzle. It is therefore very significant that, as far as was possible, Colonna clearly gathered materials on the interpretation of the desired sign which really were found in Egyptian hieroglyphs; as an example, in the second series,[67] he used the symbols from antique images which he personally must have seen in Rome.

Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1997. The first full English translation is that of Joscelyn Godwin published in 1999 by Thames and Hudson.

64 Liane Lefaivre (see the previous note) argues that Alberti was the author of the Poliphili.

65 The illustrations in the Poliphili are not theoretically "umrisstil" which is the name for a style of outline drawing.

66 The illustrator of the cuts has still not been definitively identified. Many famous names have been suggested and it is likely that it was someone close to Aldus since one of the pictures in one of the works in the *Scriptores astronomici veteres* published by Aldus in October 1499 immediately prior to the *Hypnerotomachia*, that is Germanicus' Commentary on the *Phaenomena* of Aratus, was by the same artist as the *Hypnerotomachia*. Another candidate for the "b" which was first remarked on by Dorez in the article cited in nt. 63 above is Benedetto Bordone. It is unlikely to have been Bernardo Parentino who died in the mid 1490s although he was the artist who began the frescos in the Basilica of San Giustina in Padua in the early 1490's which incorporated copies of some of the illustrations from the Poliphili (or vice versa). See Giehlow (2015) pp. 133 ff for a full discussion, also the Mengardi prints in Figures 18 and 19 below below and Excursus 1 p. 79.

67 Presumably by the second series Volkmann means the signs in Figure 5 below.

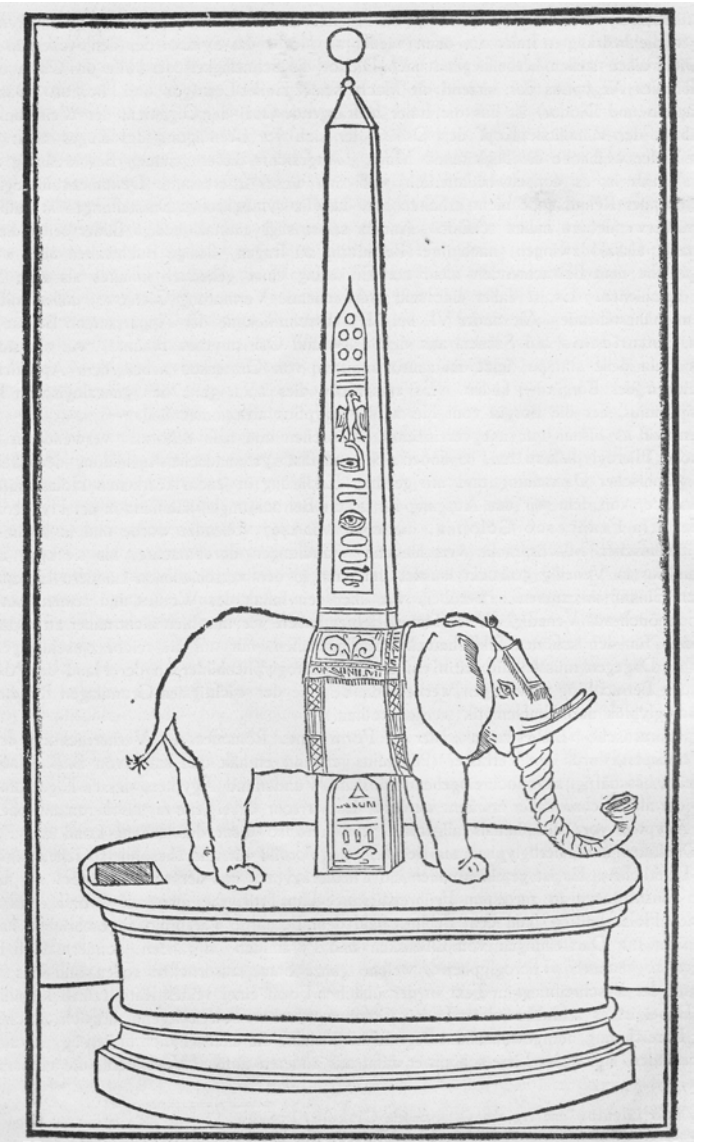

FIGURE 3 *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. The Elephant and the Obelisk.*

Only occasionally does he make use of a freer interpretation of some fantasy, which for him must have conjured up to some extent something of the true meaning of the hieroglyphs. That he and the illustrator were lacking in every feeling for the Egyptian style should be self-evident both from the text and obviously from the images. These are not Egyptian hieroglyphs but just the

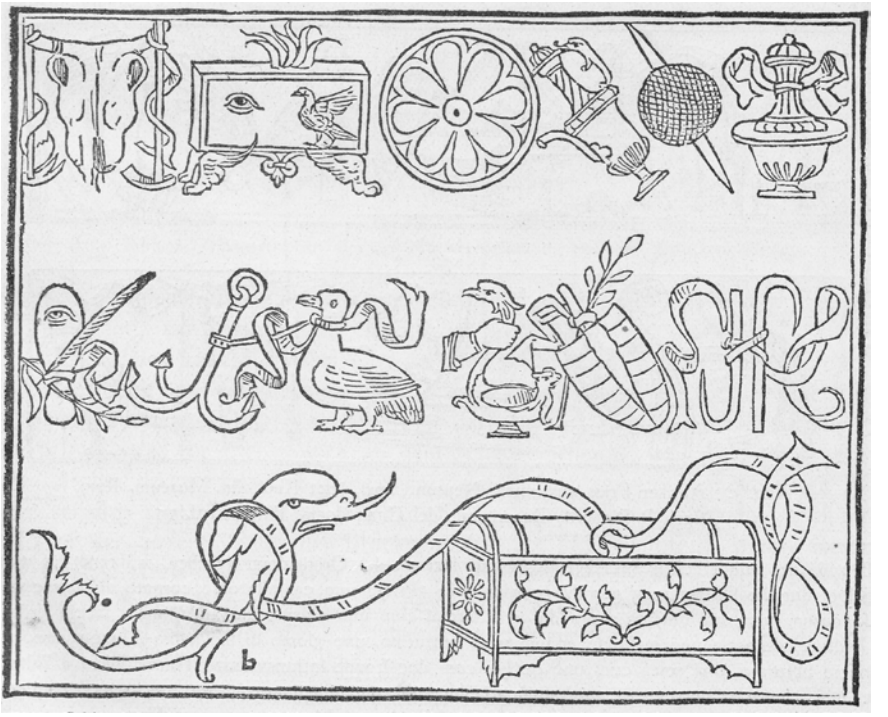

FIGURE 4 *Hieroglyphs from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (*Base of the Elephant*).

hieroglyphic picture writing of the Renaissance! But he does offer some special incentive for us to pursue this as long as the correct attitude towards him is adopted from the outset.

Thus to begin with one can find on fol. b1^{v} (the letters signify the position in the book, the numbers the actual pages and the ^{v} signifies the side of the leaf) the picture of a vast pyramid, upon which there stands an obelisk with bronze figures. The text says that "Egyptian hieroglyphs were gloriously engraved"[68] on the obelisk; so, in this extract, there is nothing close to an explanation of the script nor to any kind of illustrative statement.

Against that is the example of the obelisk, which on fol. b7^{v} appears to be borne by an elephant, depicting a column of hieroglyphic signs, which have yet to be interpreted. To some extent they remind one of the real thing with the images of an eagle, of an eye, of a snake and so on but they are not actually translatable. At the same time, the fact that the obelisk stands upon an elephant is not completely unlikely—in Catania at the time there was such an

68 In the original: "*Nella facie del quale erano Hieroglyphi aegypti egregiamente insculpti.*"

example[69] whilst later Bernini drew on the *Hypnerotomachia* when in 1667 he placed an obelisk on an elephant by the Minerva in Rome.[70] On fol. c1 the text given on the head of the animal signified the following combination πόνος καὶ εὐφυία or in Latin: *fatica et industria*.[71] On the base a further inscription was carved, which can be depicted and read as follows:[72]

> a horned animal skull with two hoes[73] hanging from the horns, an altar which stands on two goat's feet with a burning flame upon it, and upon its front an eye and a vulture; and beyond, a basin and a jug, a ball of string wound around a spindle, an antique vessel with a closed mouth, the sole of a sandal with an eye and two crossed branches one of olive and the other of palm, tightly bound together, and an anchor and a goose, an antique lamp held by a hand, an antique rudder with a fruit-bearing olive-branch, then further on two hooks, a dolphin and last a closed trunk.[74]

These beautiful mixed *graphiamenti* [graphics] which derive from *vestustissime et sacre scripture* [the most ancient and sacred scriptures] in fact signify: *Ex labore deo naturae sacrifice liberaliter, paulatim reduces animum deo subjectum, firmam custodiam vitae tuae misericorditer gubernando tenebit incolumemque servabit*, that is: "Sacrifice freely from your labor to the God of nature and slowly you will bring back your soul into submission to God, and he will

69 For a discussion of the elephant in Catania and it origins, see Giehlow (2015) p. 102 nts. 10 and x.

70 For a full exposition of Bernini's monument in the Piazza della Minerva, see Hecksher, pp. 155–182.

71 Volkmann has got it slightly wrong here. The phrase he describes which is engraved on a plaque hanging around the neck of the elephant is on page b7. The description of the hieroglyphic message on the base starts at c1.

72 All English translations of extracts from the *Hypnerotomachia* are taken from J. Godwin, *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: The Strife of Love in a Dream*, Thames and Hudson, 1999.

73 See Excursus 3 p. 130 for a discussion of the meaning and history of the "hoes" or the bucrania of Colonna.

74 An example of the wonderful macaronic language is given here from the original text: "Primo uno capitale osso cornato di bove cum dui instrumenti agricultorii alle corna, una ara fundata sopra dui pedi hircine cum una ardente fiammula, nella faccia della quale era uno occhio e uno vulture, deposcia uno malluvio et un vaso gutturino, uno glomo di filo infixo in uno pyrono et uno antiquario vaso cum l'orificio obturato, una solea cum uno occhio cum due fronde intransversate, l'una di oliva e l'altra di palma politamente lorate, una ancora et uno ansere, una antiquaria lucerna cum una mano tenente, uno temone antico cum uno ramo di fructigera olea circumfasciato, poscia dui harpaguli, uno delphino et ultimo una arca reclusa." (v).

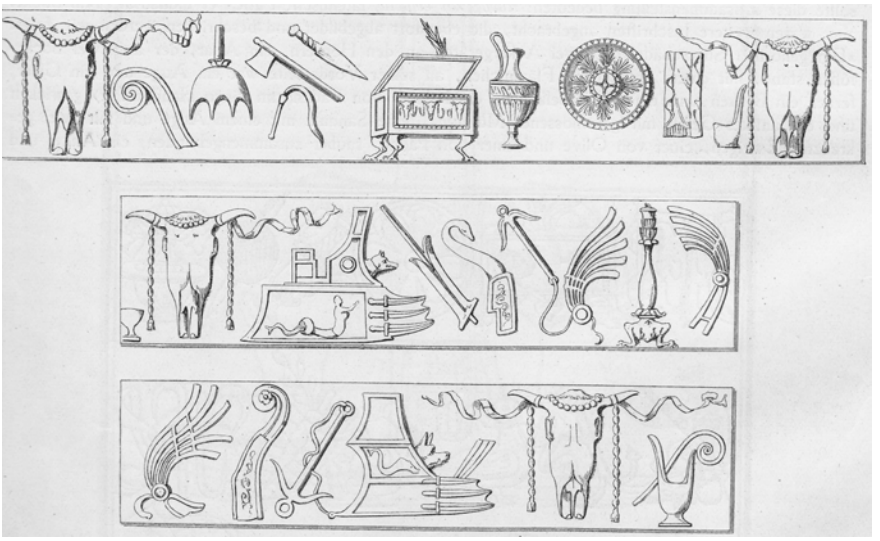

FIGURE 5 *Antique Frieze from the Temple of Neptune, now in the Capitoline Museum, Rome. After P. Righetti. Descrizione del Campidoglio, Vol. 3, Plate 337.*

hold firm custody of your life, mercifully guiding you and he will preserve you unharmed" which Giehlow very aptly signified as a paraphrase of "prayer and work."[75] In particular, he equated the skull with the implements as work; the eye as God; the vulture as nature; the altar as sacrifice; the basin as generosity; the jug as gradually, the ball of string (Ariadne) as to return; the closed vessel as the spirit; the eye on the sole of the sandal as God subdues; the anchor as certainty; the goose (the Capitol!) as protection; the lamp as life; the olive branch and rudder as a compassionate guide; the hooks as constraints; the dolphin as unharmed; the trunk as preservation. The anchor and the goose are connected as adjective and noun by a ribbon and similarly the ribbon between the dolphin and the trunk signifies the connecting 'que'![76]

75 *Ora et labora* [prayer and work], an ancient pun and monastic guideline that goes back at least to the Rule of St. Benedict.

76 "que" in Latin at the end of a word of course means "and." C. P. Burger, "Het Hieroglyphenschrift van der Renaissance," *Het Boek* XIII, (1924) pp. 273–300 draws attention to the influence of the "hieroglyphs" of the *Hypnerotomachia* throughout Europe and refers to Jehan van der Noot's *Abregé des douze livres Olympiades*, Anvers: van der Rade, 1579 where on the final (unnumbered) page there is the picture of an obelisk with a large selection of Colonna's "hieroglyphs." Burger's article is a review of Volkmann's original 1923 publication.

One can find concealed within this puzzle picture, of which the overriding meaning is relatively clear, several things which derive from real hieroglyphs, for instance the goose which in the real hieroglyphic language certainly means the letter S or a son but here, deriving from the geese which saved the Capitol, stands for protection, the vulture as a symbol of nature is found in Ammianus Marcellinus, the eye for God (Osiris) in Macrobius. But the other signs are for the most part not actually found individually but, in a remarkable mix of Egyptian and Greco-Roman elements, are apparently taken from an ancient monument the identity of which even today can be determined accurately. This was a Roman frieze originally from a temple of Neptune, which later was made an element of the pulpit (ambone)[77] of St. Lorenzo [fuori le mura] and is now in the Capitoline Museum. The picture of it here, the precision of which is a result of the record of Pietro Righetti in his description of the Campidoglio,[78] shows immediately the obvious relationship of many of its elements with the hieroglyphs of the *Hypnerotomachia* described earlier such as the animal skull, the chest with animal feet, the bowl, the jugs, the lamps, the rudder, the anchor, the dolphin. And Mantegna also (see below) employed almost entirely the same motifs, and later, to avoid any doubt on the matter, Marten van Heemskirk points out that this frieze[79] was an example of a particular tradition of a famous original piece which must then have served as a model for Colonna. To illustrate the wide-spread influence of just this one motif, there is the fact that it was found again in the graffiti in a Roman house, which in around 1515 the learned Parisian publisher Geoffroy Tory saw and copied;[80] he would later be associated with this work as will be seen below.

Other hieroglyphs are found on each of the balustrades of a beautiful bridge and are depicted on fol. d7 of the *Hypnerotomachia* and described as "the most noble Egyptian hieroglyphs expressed as follows:" a. On one side was "an

77 The ambonen in ancient churches was a raised platform from which announcements and sermons were given. It was superceded by the pulpit and is now usually translated as such.

78 Pietro Righetti, *Descrizione del Campidoglio*, Rome: Buttaoni & Archiepis, 1833–1836.

79 See A. Michaelis in the Bulletino dell'Instituto (VI 1891), p. 46 (V). I have not been able to identify this reference but it is not to the Bulletino dell'Instituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo.

80 Volkmann, in this summary sentence, does not make it clear that Giehlow who devotes considerable space to the matter (p. 119 nts. 32 and xxxii), shows that there is closer correspondence between the picture in the house near the palace on Monte Giordano and the Poliphili than between the Poliphili and the frieze. It is not certain, however, which of the two came first. Tory also makes the same point in the Champ Fleury (fol. xxiii). For further discussion see Excursus 2 p. 123.

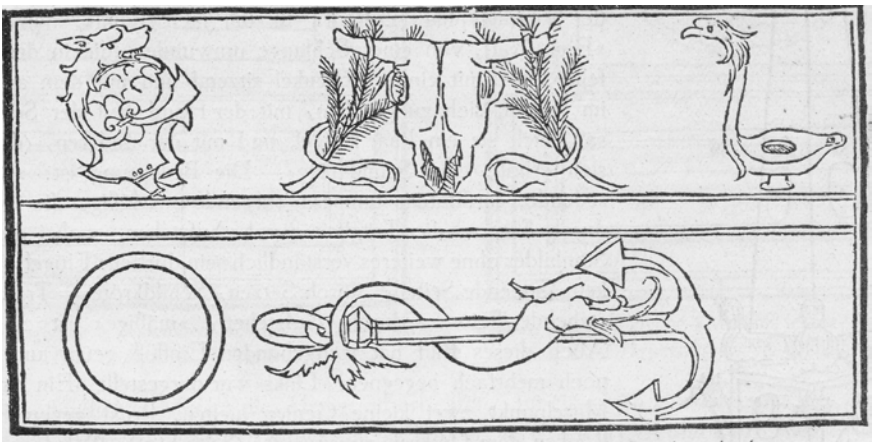

FIGURE 6 *Hieroglyphs from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.* (*Bridge Balustrade*).

antique helmet surmounted with a dog's head, a simple animal skull with two branches of thin foliage tied to the horns, an ancient lamp." The meaning is *Patienta est ornamentum, custodia et protectio vitae*, [Patience is the ornament, guardian and protector of life], by which the skull with the branches stands for patience, the helmet with the animal crest for ornament and protector, and the lamp (as we have already seen above) stands for life. The subtlety of the interpretation is first shown when Poliphilo asks his guide Logistica what the branches on the skull mean and receives the reply[81] that on one side it is spruce of which the wood does not burn and on the other it is larch of which the wood does not easily bend, and thus it signifies "with patience which does not easily become ignited with anger nor yields to ill fortune." On the other side of the bridge—shown in the woodcut on the lower line—there is b. "A ring and an anchor, over the shaft of which is wound a dolphin." This means *Semper festina tarde*, more haste less speed, the famous motto of Augustus in which the endless ring stands for eternity, the dolphin for haste and the anchor for rest. We will be discussing these well-known symbols frequently below.

A three sided obelisk upon a base made from a cube and cylinder (fol. h5) has the following meaning: the cube is symbolic of the product of unity, the beginning and the duration of the divine; the round cylinder means the everlasting; the three-sided prism the trinity and so on, all of which illustrates the influence of the Pythagorean philosophy of Pico della Mirandola. On the base are ornaments, "hieroglyphic figures," depicting sphinxes and women with cornucopiae, and on the round part of the base are shown "tre charactere hieroglyphice,"

81 Poliphilo receives the reply later at fol. h7.

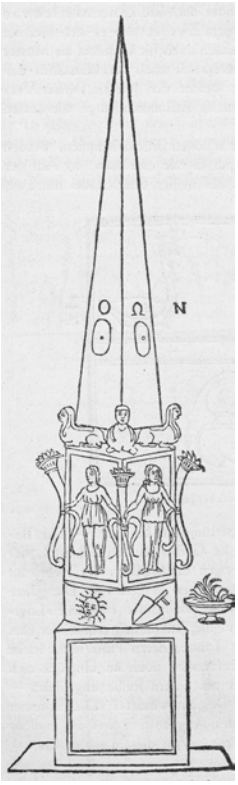

FIGURE 7
Obelisk with hieroglyphs from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

which as single characters must be fundamentally distinguished from mere symbolic figures: "first the form of the sun was drawn, then an antique rudder and lastly a dish containing a flame" (this last is to be imagined on the back; the picture is shown just next to the obelisk). "These figures," the author now relates, "are, as result of their close relationship, highly significant, ancient Egyptian hieroglyphs which … say," and there follows a long interpretation of the whole in which the sun signifies creative technique, the rudder means wise governance and the flaming bowl love of the divine. However it is impossible to read from this whole a complete and meaningful sentence.

On another bridge Poliphilo sees (fol. h7) again *cataglyphia sculptura di tali hieroglyphi* [a cataglyphic sculpture of such hieroglyphs],[82] namely on the right: "a woman is sitting on only one buttock, with a serpent wound around

82 A cataglyphic engraving is where the image is depicted in low relief within the surface of the stone (concave)—that is, it is the reverse of the anaglyph where the image is carved in low relief above the surface of the stone (convex).

her (which does not exist in the picture), and the other leg is as it were lifted; she holds a pair of wings in her hand on the side where she is seated, and with the other hand she lifts a tortoise." The meaning is *Velocitatem sedendo, tarditatem tempera surgendo* that is, "moderate your speed by sitting, your indolence by rising" in which the meaning of the individual signs is quite simple: the wings are speed; the seated side equals from sitting; the tortoise means lethargy; the lifted side through lifting and the whole signifies moderation. This picture had a widespread influence and will be encountered by us many times. On the left was placed "a ring the center of which held two genii breast to breast, with their backs to the circle" (fol. h7^{v}).[83] Further on, Logistica has to intervene to interpret to Poliphilo *Questi hieroglyphi io so che tu non l'intendi* [these hieroglyphs which I know you do not understand] and then she explains the meaning to him: *Medium tenuere beati*, that is, "the blessed hold the (correct) center."

A many-sided hieroglyphic monument is also shown between folios p6 and p7 of the *Hypnerotomachia* in the form of an obelisk dedicated by the Egyptians to Julius Caesar which on its base contains a square and four circles with "hieroglyphi insculpti" [sculptured hieroglyphs]. The rectangular front piece shows:

> an eye, two crossed and tied wheatstalks, an antique saber, then two crossed and tied wheatflails on a ring, a globe, and a rudder and further on (on the second row of the image) an antique vase, from which an olive branch with fruit emerge; this is followed by a basin, two ibises, six coins in a circle, a small temple with an open door and an altar in the middle and finally there are two plumb-bobs.

The meaning of this statement in which the ibises, the rings, the eyes and the sword were obviously derived from true hieroglyphs, is given in the sentence *Divo Julio Caesari semper augusto totius orbis gubernatori ob animi clementiam et liberalitatem Aegyptii communi s*(*acellum*) *erexere* "To the divine and ever noble Julius Caesar, leader of the whole world, for the clemency of his soul and his generosity, the Egyptians have constructed this monument from public appropriations." In detail: the eye means divine; the two ears of corn mean Julius (from the month of July!); the sword means Caesar; the ring and crossed flails (month of August for Augustus[84]) mean ever noble; the globe is the whole

83 Both these images were among those precisely duplicated from the Poliphili and depicted in the Gran Chiostro of San Giustina. See the discussion in Excursus 1 p. 79.

84 As far as I know Julius Caesar never had the name Augustus so this second term must refer back to Julius and be an additional reference to the harvest time of July.

FIGURE 8
Hieroglyph "Velocitatem sedendo ..." from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

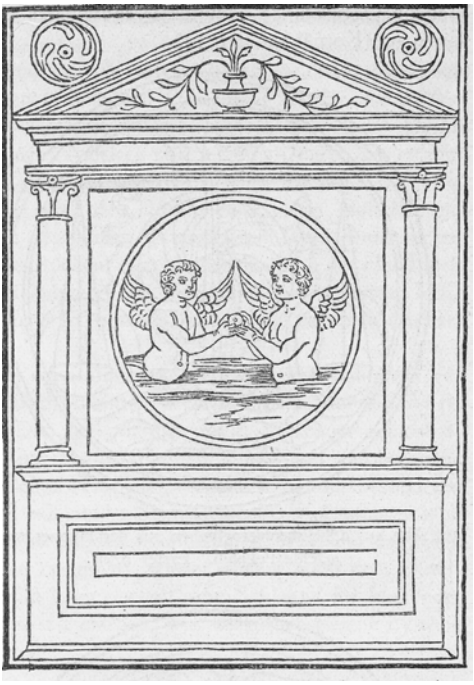

FIGURE 9
Hieroglyph "Medium tenuere beati" from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.

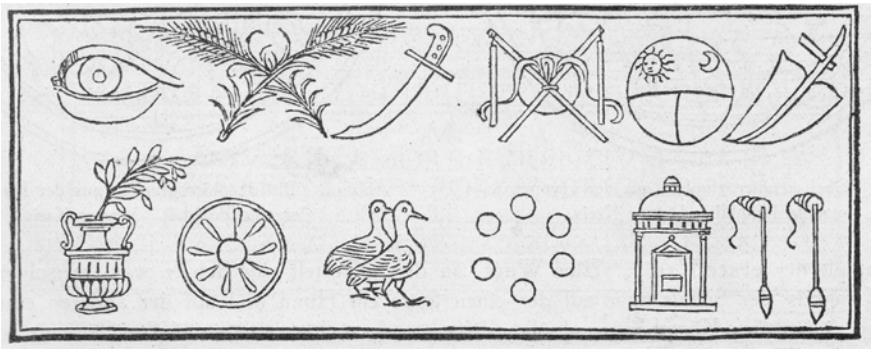

FIGURE 10 *Hieroglyphs from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, Front-side.*

world; the rudder is the leader; the vase with the olive branch the clemency of his soul; the open dish his generosity; the two ibises Egypt; the coins the public funds; the temple divinity; the two plumb lines mean erected. The whole phrase is complete.

So here, if you read from left to right and interpret the forms precisely, one can see a rather ordered script linked to the art of the hieroglyphs, taken not from Egyptian but from the narrower sense used in the early Italian Renaissance which is found in the medallions now following. These are no longer ordered in rows but in a much freer, more decorative manner using puzzle-like pictures. These circular forms were certainly modelled on antique coins from which many motifs are immediately obvious such as cornucopias, snake-rods, balances, globes, ears of wheat and others.

In the first ring was contained:

> A balance, between the scales of which there was a dish; between the balance and the edge of the dish, there was on the one side a dog and on the other a snake; beneath lay an antique casket, and above this there was a naked sword that with its point reached above the beam of the balance and there passed through a royal crown.

This very image signifies the phrase *Justitia recta amiticia et idui evaginata et nuda, et ponderata liberalitas regnum firmiter servat*, which means "Even justice (upright sword), free (unsheathed sword) from friendship (dog) and hate (snake) and evenly balanced (scale) freedom (dish) gives safe preservation (chest) to the kingdom (crown)."

The contents of the second ring are even more remarkable:

FIGURE 11
Hieroglyphs on the Obelisk from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. First Circle.

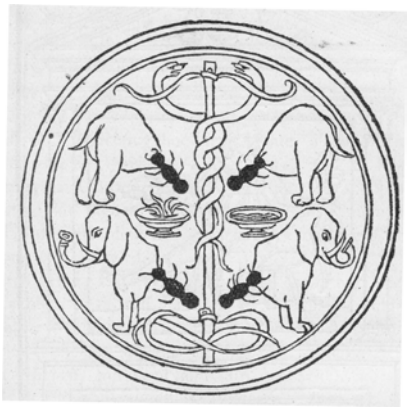

FIGURE 12
Hieroglyphs on the Obelisk from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Second Circle.

FIGURE 13
Hieroglyphs on the Obelisk from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Third Circle.

FIGURE 14
Hieroglyphs on the Obelisk from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. Fourth Circle.

> I saw on both sides of a caduceus, on the lower part of its stem, an ant growing into an elephant while on the upper part there were similarly two elephants reducing into ants; between these, in the middle, there was a vase with fire and on the other side a dish with water.

The meaning of this is undoubtedly from the proverb to make a mountain out of a molehill, a statement influenced by the well-known phrase of Sallust *Pace et Concordia parvae res crescent, Discordia maximae discrescunt*, that is, "small things grow (ants to elephants) through peace and harmony (caduceus); through discord (fire and water) great things are reduced (elephants to ants)."[85]

Contained in the third ring was:

> an anchor placed right across the diameter, upon which an eagle sat with outspread wings, and around the shaft of the anchor was wound a ribbon; under these signs there was a seated warrior among weapons holding a snake in his hands which he was looking at.

This means *Militaris prudentia seu disciplina imperii est tenacissimum vinculum*, that is, military (warrior), sagacity (snake), and discipline (weapons) are the strongest (anchor) bond (ribbon) of the kingdom (eagle).

Finally, the fourth ring showed:

85 Sallust, *Bellum Iugurthinum*, 10.6.

> A trophy; the lower part of its lance contained two crossed palm branches combined with two cornucopiae. In the middle of one side was an eye and on the other a comet.

The meaning is: *Divi Juliii victoriarum et spoliorum copiosissimum trophaeum seu insigni*, [the richest trophy and insignia of the victories and spoils of the divine Julius]. For the divine (eye), for Julius (comet), for sieges and conquests (palms), for a rich (cornucopiae) monument or landmark (trophies). Giehlow has, with particular care, proved that many of these hieroglyphs went back to ancient texts (Iamblichus),[86] that other free inventions of Colonna can be traced to the literal senses of words as quoted later by Pierio Valeriano (see below) and how others were derived just from medieval imagination such as the dog for friendship and the snake for hate or wisdom. It can be seen quite clearly from all these symbols just how indiscriminately similar signs had different meanings or how different signs had the same meaning with the result that a true language cannot seriously be derived from an unequivocal interpretation or "reading" of such "script."

There was a further hieroglyphic phrase on a relief which Poliphilo (fol. p7^{v}) saw on a broken pediment at the entrance to a burial ground for those who had died from unrequited love: "I saw carved, but not complete, a bird without a

FIGURE 15 *Hieroglyphs from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili.* (*Entrance to the Burial ground*).

86 Giehlow (2015) p. 49.

head which I took for an owl, and an old lamp."[87] The meaning is: *Vitae lethifer nuntius*, the death-bringing messenger of life.[88] We have repeatedly encountered the lamp as the symbol of life, and the owl as the bird of death is familiar to us today; it also appears with this meaning in the Horapollo[89] and in the medieval bestiaries.

The sarcophagus of two lovers (fol. q7^{v}) shows again two consecutive rows of script which this time is not written in single characters but can only be understood in its entirety: *Diis manibus. Mors vitae contraria et velocissima cuncta calcat, suppeditat, rapit, consumit, dissolvit, melliflue duos mutuo se strictim et ardenter amantes hic extinctos conjunxit*, "for the divine souls, death crushes, stamps on, robs, consumes and dissolves all life adversely and abruptly; (but) it has sweetly united two close and fervid lovers who have died here." Thus the image shows a double face with two eyes above meaning spirits;[90] a spindle meaning death; the lamp life; two arrows placed in opposite directions, adversely and abruptly; a globe means death; a sandal crushes and stamps on; a hook means robs; a flame consumes; a knife dissolves; (on the second row) a bee means sweetness; two crossed, bound, burning torches mean two close

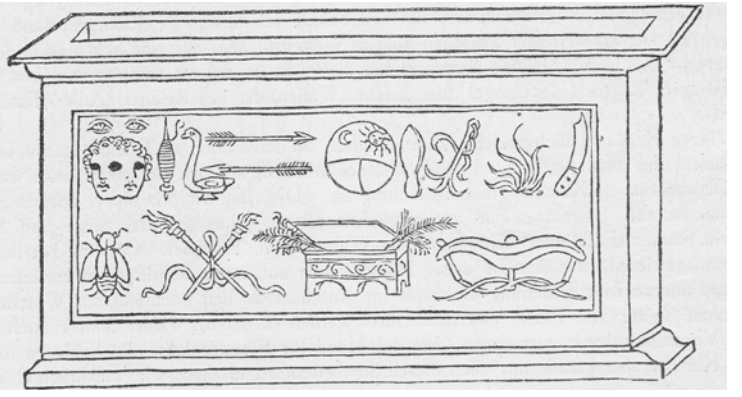

FIGURE 16 *Hieroglyphs from the Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (*Sarcophagus of the Lovers*).

87 This is the figure that Volkmann uses as the epigraph for his Introduction.

88 The phrase seems to have no classical antecedent.

89 Horapollo II.25.

90 On fol. q3 can be found a similar statement, of which the dedication confirms the basis of our interpretation. The DM means of course *Diis manibus* (**V**) [to the spirits of the dead or to the blessed shades].

and fervid lovers; a chest with cypress branches means extinguished or dead; a yoke means united.

Finally the banner of Cupid's boat depicts a true hieroglyph (fol. s3). It shows, on an embroidered cloth of silk and precious stones, *tre hieroglyphi. Uno antiquario vasculo, nelo hiato bucale dilquale ardeva una fiammula, et poscia era el mundo, insiemi colligate cum uno ramusculo di vinco*, thus "three hieroglyphs: an antique vase in the mouth of which a small flame is burning and which is bound to a globe with a willow branch." The meaning is *Amor vincit omnia*,[91] "love conquers all," in which the flame means love and the globe is "all things" without further meaning. What's more the word "conquers" is expressed just through a simple pun (Willowbranch, vinco = vincit!),[92] a motif which seems quite common in later emblematics. But we would rather suggest that the grand ladies of Florence or Venice actually had such simple puzzles embroidered on their silk banners just like the insignia borne by the nymphs and satyrs in the festive processions which were borrowed from the Triumphs of the era. On the other hand, one also remembers the Egyptian elements which Apuleius writes about and similarly one can see later in the *Hieroglyphica* of Pierio Valeriano, a three-headed Hermes, an image of Serapis with a lion's, dog's and wolf's head[93] and the like. And so here there are ingenuous and obvious Egyptian and contemporary motifs combined together.

The effect that the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* had on the hieroglyphic movement was extraordinarily extensive. In it there could be seen for the first time a successful attempt, in the environment of ancient Egypt, to write with picture signs, not only with single words or phrases but with truly comprehensive sentences. The admiration spread so far that even Erasmus himself believed it, the author inferring from and using a hitherto unknown ancient source for

91 This famous phrase was originally coined by Virgil in his *10th Eclogue*, one of a series of short poems written c. 40 BCE and modeled on Theocritus' *Idylls*. It was used frequently in subsequent literature, including, for instance, in Chaucer's *Prioress' Tale* where the phrase is engraved on the Prioress' bracelet, a cynical comment on her devotion to chastity.

92 The Italian for willow-branch or osier is vinco and the Latin for chain or bond is vinculum which goes to vincit = conquers.

93 A bust with three animal heads representing the past, Memory, the present, Intellect and the future, Foresight was the traditional symbol for the Virtue, Prudence, which was known in the Renaissance through the intermediaries of Macrobius and Petrarch. The symbol has an ancient history representing originally the Egyptian god Serapis. For further discussion of the full complexity of the symbol of Prudence, see Erwin Panofsky, "Titian's Allegory of Prudence," *Meaning in the Visual Arts*, Garden City: Doubleday Anchor, 1955, p. 146.

FIGURE 17
Hypnerotomachia Poliphili. The Standard of the Ship of Love.

the hieroglyphs, the first century philosopher Chaeremon.[94] We will see later that Colonna's work really was the first and most important stimulus for these ideas in northern countries.[95] In Italy itself it served as both foundation and

94 None of the works of Chaeremon have survived but it is known that he was a Stoic philosopher who lived in the first century CE, that he was originally from Alexandria and that he was brought to Rome to become the tutor to the young Nero. He wrote a number of books including a *Hieroglyphica* and his work survived at least until the 11th century CE when it is referred to by Tzetzes, the Byzantine scholar, who quotes some of Chaeremon's hieroglyphic descriptions which are similar to those of Horapollo. There is some speculation that the *Hieroglyphica* of Chaeremon and perhaps that of Horapollo was based on an even earlier work *Peri ton en Meroei hieron grammaton*, On the sacred letters of Meroei, a text which is listed under the works of Democritus (see note 10 p. 10 above) and which is now lost. Meroie was the capital of Nubia, the ancient country which was the southern neighbor of Egypt. The Nubians used a script which shared some of the same hieroglyphs as the Egyptians but their language has never been deciphered. According to the fragment of Tzetzes referred to above, Chaeremon derived his hieroglyphic knowledge from the Ethiopians (Nubians). See P. W. Van der Horst, *Chaeremon, Egyptian priest and Stoic philosopher*, Leiden: Brill, 1987.

95 A new edition from Paulus Manutius appeared in 1545, French editions in 1546, 1554, 1551 and 1600, and an English edition in 1592 (V). The English edition of 1592 by Robert Dallington was only a partial translation and was incorrect in many respects. The first full English translation by Jocelyn Godwin was published in 1999 but in this no attempt was made to emulate the archaic vocabulary of the original.

material, and the great popularity of these speaking pictures speaks quite particularly to the fact that here was the beginning of a monumental development in art. In the great monastery of San Giustina in Padua are extensive and now quite well restored frescoes[96] of the life of the divine Benedict and on the pilasters and friezes [of the Gran Chiostro] can be seen painted grisaille motifs, some of which so closely resemble the hieroglyphs of the *Hypnerotomachia* that they appear to exclude any coincidence and rather must indicate some kind of relationship. From the copper-plates of Francesco Mengardi at the end of the eighteenth century[97] and other texts, we can get a quite accurate idea of the representations, and Léon Dorez (ibid. pp. 243–66) has published a comparison of these with the pictures of the *Hypnerotomachia* and came to the conclusion that the frescoes served as the model or inspiration for Colonna. Against this, Giehlow, with good grounds, came to the opposite conclusion and I myself prefer to side with the latter's interpretation without rehearsing the pros and cons any further here.

The cycle of frescoes was started by Bernardo Parentino, the student of Mantegna, under the Abbot Gasparo, it remained unfinished at Bernardo's death and was then completed by Girolamo del Santo (the Paduan) around 1540–1546 under Abbot Ignazio. P. Girolamo da Potenza then explicitly related in his *Chronicle of the Cloister of S. Giustina*, written at the end of the sixteenth century, (manuscript, Museo civico B.P. 829) how Abbot Gasparo chose as material for the pictures "figures and stories of Rome, fables of the poets, tombstones or stones or fragments with miscellaneous inscriptions, Egyptian emblems and other symbolic material." The actual text by da Potenza describing the images is unfortunately lost; it had the title: *Elucidario o sia copioso spiegazione delle figure istoriche e geroglifici del Chiostro dipinto*, but

96 In fact only a very few fragments remain. These have been stabilized but it is impossible to compare any of them to the Mengardi prints. There are eleven Mengardi prints illustrating thirty-three pilasters but there are or were at least forty-seven pilasters so it must be assumed that the remainder had already deteriorated to such an extent that Mengardi was unable to reproduce them. See Excursus 1 p. 79 for a full discussion.

97 See P. Guiglielmo della Valle, *Letter to Prince Chigi*, 1791: On the paintings of the great cloister of S. Giustina of Padua and of four prints of the same, published by Sig. Francesco Mengardi—There is an example in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, Collection Lesoufaché, single sheets in Dresden (**v**). The della Valle has been digitized by the University of Tübingen and can be seen at http://idb.ub.uni-tuebingen.de/diglit/Dd46/0007 (5/11/2017). Volkmann describes below several examples of the Mengardi prints which he saw in Paris but I have not been able to trace the examples in Dresden. They may have been lost or stolen in the Second World War.

these things are also referred to many times within the Chronicle.[98] Jacobus Cavacius (Cavaccio) in the *Historiarum Coenebii S. Justinae Patavinae Libri VI*, Venice, 1606, also mentions that on the orders of Gasparo the pictures were inspired both by the life of Saint Benedict and by biblical scenes in the form of "hieroglyphs, symbols and moral tales from the fables of the ancients." It is thus probable that Abbot Gasparo had at least engaged in a fruitful exchange of ideas with Colonna and we are strengthened in this view since one of the pictures on the antique frieze of San Lorenzo, which as we saw above (fig. 5) Colonna certainly knew about, was used in the fresco.

In particular, Girolamo da Potenza says in his description of the second picture, that in the frieze are *diverse cose, che parno bizarie del pittore, come rami fioriti, teschio di bove, un serpe drizato, timon di nave, un altar ardente: tal friso è in una pietra antiqua in Roma in S. Lorenzo extra muros, qual contiene belli et ingeniosi significati* [diverse things, which seem to be extravagances of the painter, like flowering branches, the skulls of cattle, an erect snake, the rudder of a ship, a burning altar: the frieze is on an antique stone in Rome in S. Lorenzo extra muros, and contains beautiful and witty symbols].

But even in the continuation of the work under Abbot Ignazio, hieroglyphic elements were particularly requested by the patron and in fact were to be emphasized so that, according to remarks in Cavaccio, four learned monks called *letterati, istorici, geroglifichi, poeti, theologi* [men of letters, historians, experts in hieroglyphs, poets, theologians]—at the request of Gasparo—"were to decorate" the work "with diverse learning, namely with histories, symbols, hieroglyphs, inscriptions and so forth." And here the likely possibility follows that the artist relied upon the hieroglyphs of Colonna. In particular, one can see the following motifs from the *Hypnerotomachia* in the pictures: the half-seated woman (fol. h7^{v}, see fig. 8) with the winged hand, Mengardi no. 14. Through the kindness of the Director of the Library of the Beaux-Arts in Paris, I was able to view this interesting picture in place (since the original in Padua could not be obtained) as well as see a further one from the engraving of Mengardi (no. 18), that shows three hieroglyphs: two small genii holding rings in their hands (*Hypnerotomachia* fol. h7^{v}, see fig. 9); the transformation of the elephants and the ants (*Hypnerotomachia* fol. p6^{v}, see fig. 12)[99] and the representation of the standard of Cupid's vessel, the burning dish and the globe (*Hypnerotomachia*

98 The *Elucidario* is not lost and is now in the Biblioteca del Museo Civico, Padua as ms. BP 4898. It describes every aspect of the frescoes in great detail. For further discussion, see Excursus 1 p. 79.

99 This image is actually described twice in the *Elucidario* both in picture (column) eleven and in picture (column) twenty-one.

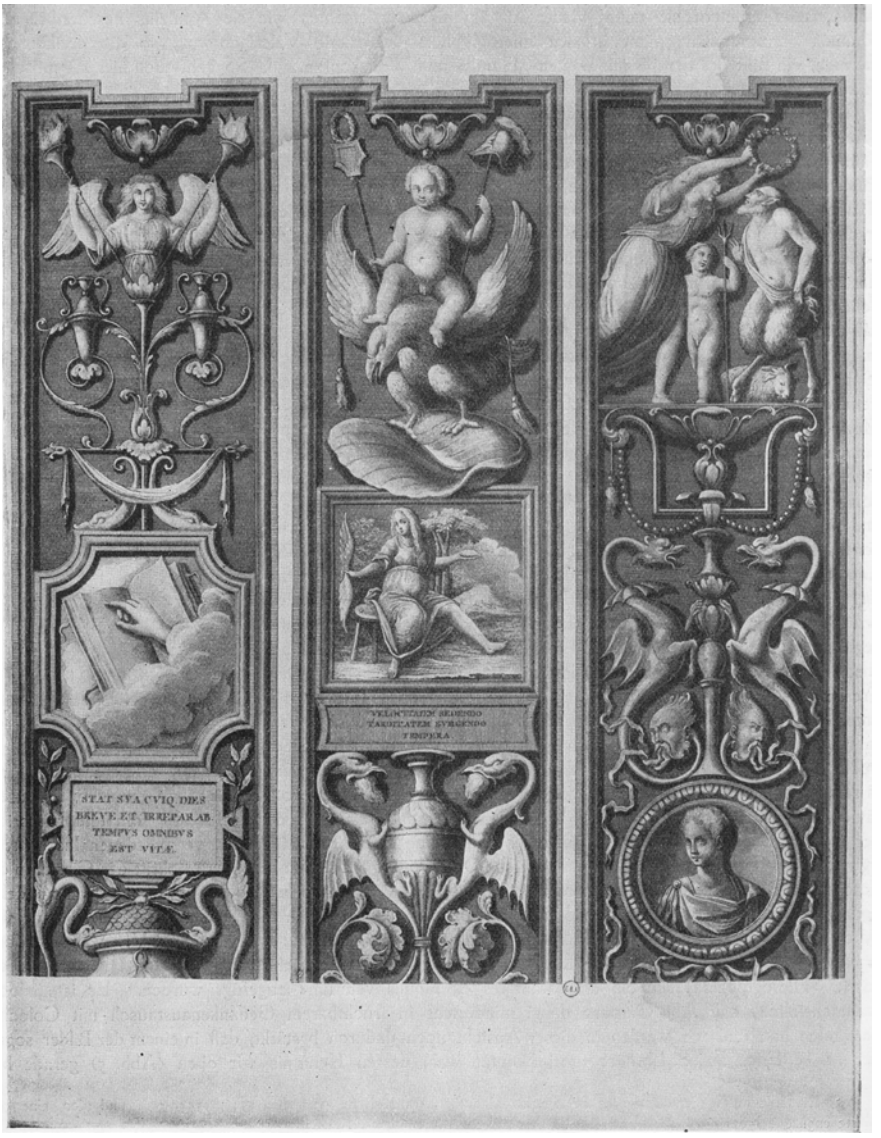

FIGURE 18 *Francesco Mengardi. Print after the fresco in S. Giustina, Padua.*

fol. s3, see fig. 17). The figures leave undetermined the question whether the frescoes are later than the woodcuts and thus copies of these. Further on there are illustrated the roundel "Justice" (*Hypnerotomachia* fol. p6, see fig. 11) and the crossed flails and globe (*Hypnerotomachia* fol. p6^{v}, see fig. 10). Della Valle points also to the roundel of *Militaris prudentia* (*Hypnerotomachia* fol. p7)

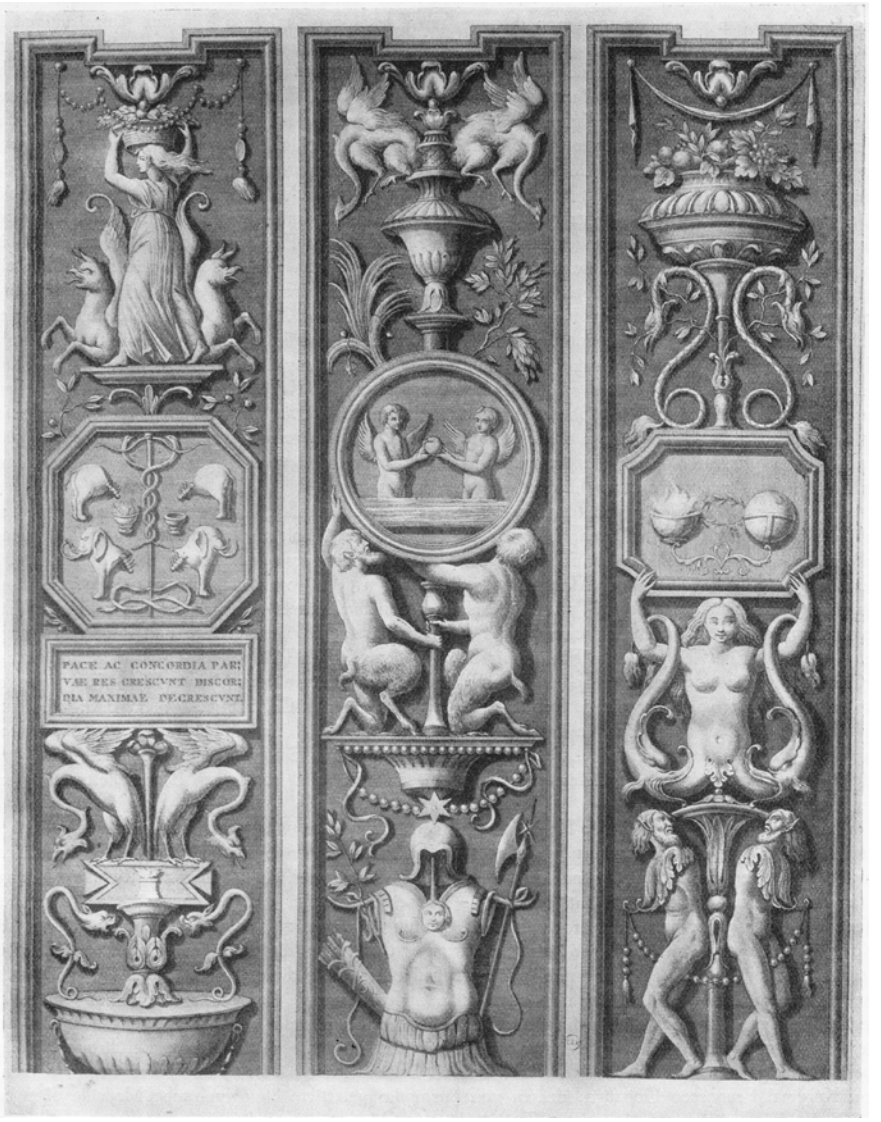

FIGURE 19 *Francesco Mengardi. Print after the fresco in S. Giustina, Padua.*

as well as the ring and the dolphin wound round the anchor, the device of Augustus with the motto *Festina tarde.*[100]

100 Another such frieze with almost identical objects is shown on the Arco degli Argentari in Velabro, Rome and is described and illustrated in Calvesi, cit., pp. 97, 143–145 and ill. 31.

By the way, as the text in the *Chronicle* of Girolamo da Potenza indicates, the hieroglyphic and other symbolism of the fresco was in no manner limited to the motifs from *Hypnerotomachia*. There was for example to be seen on the pilaster of the fifth picture [as enumerated in the *Elucidario*] pieces of arms from the triumphal procession of Vespasian in Rome,[101] which must signify the spiritual estate of the monks, who should perpetually fight the temptation of evil with spiritual and not material weapons, a common concept throughout the Middle Ages which according to Goldschmidt, finds explicit confirmation and parallel in the *Albanipsalter*.[102] In the seventh picture, there is a reference to the winged woman as a symbol of fame[103] and this is confirmed in the previously cited works of Pierio Valeriano and Cesare Ripa (page 5 nt. 13 above); further on there is Jupiter with a winged lightning bolt meaning divine retribution and also Alexander the Great with winged lightning for glory.[104] The fifteenth image shows deceit and lies with their signifying emblems as well as the symbol of treason;[105] here also there is prefigured later emblematics which came to be associated with the use of accepted personifications with obvious and recognizable features.

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101 A fragment of a frieze displaying similar implements as on the frieze of the ambone also exists in situ on the remains of the Temple of Vespasian in the Forum in Rome. See Excursus 3 p. 130 for further details. But such a display of arms does not exist on the Triumphal Arch of Vespasian and Titus in Rome. Pilaster 2 shown by Mengardi and in the Elucidario has several images of arms and includes the name of Bellona, the Roman Goddess of War.

102 Adolph Goldschmidt (1863–1944), was a German medieval art historian, whose dissertation *Der Albanipsalter in Hildesheim und Seine Beziehung zur Symbolischen Kirchenskulptur des 12. Jahrhunderts* of 1893, was the catalyst for his teaching career which began in the University of Berlin. The St. Albans Psalter is an illuminated manuscript written in the 1130s. There is a substantial modern bibliography on the Psalter; a good commentary and bibliography is given on the Aberdeen University website at https://www.abdn.ac.uk/stalbanspsalter/english/essays/kidd-essay-st-albans-psalter-commentary%20volume.pdf (5/11/17).

103 If Volkmann is referring to the image (also in the Poliphili) of the seated woman holding wings in her right hand, this is actually described by the *Elucidario* as on pilaster (column) twenty-four.

104 These interpretations by Volkmann turn out to be incorrect. Cristina Bragaglia "Girolamo del Santo e gli affreschi del chiostro maggiore di Santa Giustina a Padova: fonti iconographice," *Bolletino del Museo di Padova*, 82, (1993), pp. 188–9 has shown that the figure is Phanes, the Greek goddess of procreation, copied from the façade of the Odeo Cornaro, a private arts center in Padua constructed in the early sixteenth century.

105 The fifteenth pilaster shows the image from the Poliphili fol. p6 which has an interpretation of justice.

The great teacher of Bernardo Parentino, Andrea Mantegna himself,[106] did not remain unaffected by the hieroglyphic tradition of the time. In the fresco of the Eremitani (1459)[107] he indeed appears to avail himself of them freely since in the picture of the taking of St. James to the latter's execution,[108] he depicts an antique relief on a huge arch which includes a vase, a rudder and a palm tree. He does not however openly permit himself to provide a close hieroglyphic interpretation but rather he depicts on it the phrase "L. Vitruvius Cerdo" as a reminder of the same words inscribed on the Arch of the Gavi in Verona.[109] On the other hand in a copy of this picture found by E. André in Paris, certainly originating from some humanistic source, there is the inscription "La vita el fine"[110] entwined among the other elements, the whole being an obvious instance of a hieroglyph, which can be interpreted as the vase is life, the rudder is guidance and the palm tree is victory. It was in Mantua that Mantegna would first make his closest contact with hieroglyphs in collaboration with Leon Battista Alberti, who was living there at the time, and with Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga, whose hieroglyphic medal prepared by Sperandio has already been referred to. In his *Triumph of Caesar*, completed in 1492, Mantegna brought an understanding of his newly acquired artistic knowledge and he used as a model, as Giehlow proved, a treatise, which, equally freely, dealt with hieroglyphic questions, that is Roberto Valturio's *De Re Militari* which in turn borrowed heavily from the descriptions of the Triumphs by Josephus.[111] Mantegna took from him not only the general arrangement of the procession but also

106 Mantegna's principal depiction of "hieroglyphs" is contained in his great series of nine large paintings called *The Triumph of Caesar* now in Hampton Court Palace in England and painted from 1484–1492. These are described as the only paintings in England which reveal the true size and ambition of the Italian Renaissance.

107 The monastery of the Eremitani is in Padua. The wall, on which this fresco was painted, collapsed after a bombing raid in the World War II and the fresco disintegrated into more than 80,000 recognizable pieces. Only recently has an attempt been started to restore the fresco.

108 A copy of this part of the fresco is shown in the essay by Andreas Prater, "Mantegnas Cristo in Scurto," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 48 Bd., H. 3. (1985), pp. 279–299.

109 Thus commemorating the architect of the arch but this Vitruvius is not the same as Vitruvius Pollo, the great architectural writer, although some Renaissance commentators thought that they were the same including Andreas Alciato, the emblem writer. See the entry in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* by W. Smith (London: Murray, 1849). It is not clear whether Mantegna shared the opinion that they were one and the same person.

110 "Life is ended", a phrase from Petrarch's *Canzoniere* 23, v. 31.

111 Josephus, *The Jewish Wars*, 7.5.4.

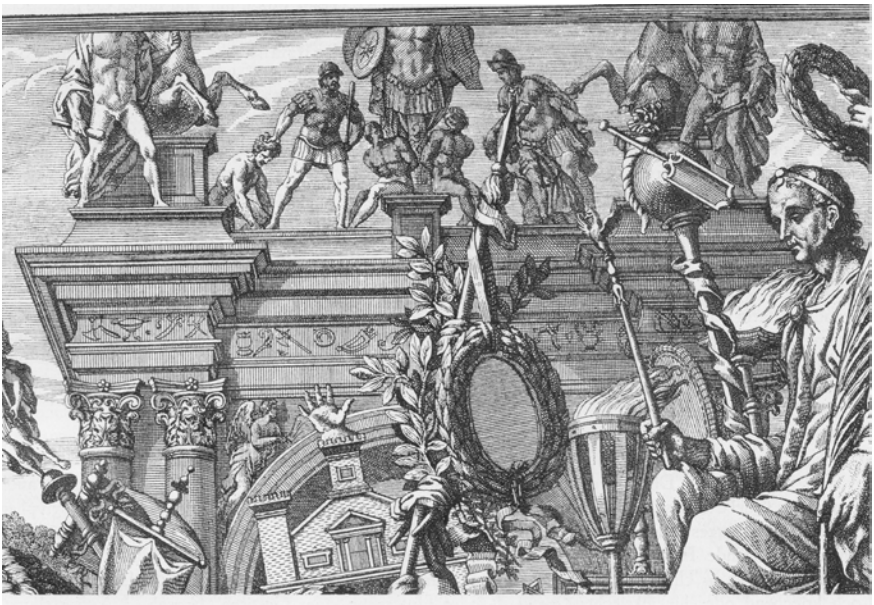

FIGURE 22 *Andrea Mantegna. The Triumph of Caesar* (*detail*). *After the Print of C. Huyberts.*

many details and, in particular, the preference for hieroglyphic symbols. In chapter 11 of book XII, Valturio reports on the relationship in the translation by Poggio of Diodorus: "on the insignia of both living and dead princes and on columns, obelisks, pyramids, arches, statues, shields, tablets and vessels, which were created for this purpose." He also mentions here the hieroglyphic victory inscriptions of Sesotris and compares them to the Roman triumphal arch. This and the model of Alberti had persuaded Mantegna to choose a triumphal arch as the centerpiece of the cycle and, in his own manner, to present "hieroglyphics" as the inscription on the frieze.

From our picture here, the precision of which is due to C. Huybert's print in the Caesar edition of Samuel Clarke (London 1712)[112] it is quite clear that for this same purpose, he had also seen the famous antique frieze on the exterior of S. Lorenzo (Ilg 5) whose main elements, the receptacles, dishes, sacrificial knives, axes, branches etc. are combined here together with other additional signs. An exact meaning cannot be given with certainty and one can only speculate generally on the fame of triumph, the prize of peace and the praise

112 Samuel Clarke, (1675–1729), an English philosopher, wrote a *Commentaries on Caesar*, with splendid illustrations. It was published by Tonson in 1712 and dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough.

of this noble undertaking.[113] Also the sculptural secret pictures and symbols, which just as in the *Hypnerotomachia*, were put on staffs, are undoubtedly partially hieroglyphic; thus, we can note particularly the ball located on the right of Caesar with a cornucopia and rudder which signifies Caesar's beneficial dominion over the governance of the world although the meaning of the other images is less clear. Mantegna was in Rome from 1488–1490 where he was certainly in contact with humanists and would have had dealings with the intellectual world of Poliphilo; so it is equally obvious that he studied there the antique frieze which must have been available to him and employed these figures in the hieroglyphic sense, a further demonstration of the extensive and far-reaching influence of the *Hypnerotomachia*.[114]

The theoretical and literary pursuit of hieroglyphs was not confined to Italy and towards the end of the fifteenth and at the beginning of the sixteenth centuries further notable individuals gave it their blessing. The Florentine poet Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494)[115] who had already given lectures on Harpocrates as the source of Plutarch's treatise *De Iside et Osiride*, wrote the preface to Alberti's *Architecture* and left a letter on Osiris which is unfortunately lost.[116] The most important edition of Plutarch on the hieroglyphs which came directly from him and from the Latin translation of Ermolao Barbaro SJ found an even wider circulation.[117] Poliziano in his *Miscellanies* provides excellent insight into the zeal with which they undertook these studies. He writes there that he took from a passage of Aelian not just the reference to the storks, but also the crows seen as the symbol of unity. It is also certain that Lorenzo Medici showed him two gold coins of Faustina Augusta,[118] upon which were displayed crows with the inscription *Concordia*—further evidence of the interaction between numismatics and hieroglyphics.

Poliziano's student Pietro Crinito (1465 to c. 1505) in his work *De honesta disciplina* includes some information on the hieroglyphic art, although a letter of his *On the Hieroglyphics of the Egyptians* has unfortunately been lost. It is thanks to him that the forgery of Annius was discovered and detected. He knew the most ancient sources for the hieroglyphs and he believed that not only the

113 The original in Windsor is in very bad condition; the copy in Vienna is better. Whether the purpose of each detail is correctly understood, is doubtful (V).

114 But the *Hypnerotomachia* was not published until 1499.

115 Poliziano was a humanist scholar who translated Greek texts and wrote an amount of occasional poetry as well as critical essays.

116 See Giehlow (2015) pp. 150–1 for the circumstances of this loss.

117 However Barbaro's Latin translation was not published.

118 For a short time the Empress of Rome and wife of the Emperor Elegabalus in 221 CE.

letters but also the sacred scripts, had the deepest philosophical meaning. Also he knew of the influence of Egyptian knowledge on the Greek philosophers and he corresponded with Pico della Mirandola to the effect that Moses had written the Old Testament in allegorical riddles, just as the Egyptians and Indians had veiled their doctrines, all with the intent that the contribution of the Hebrews should not be thought of any the less. No wonder that Johannes Reuchlin, the German investigator of Hebrew material, was, a little later, himself engaged with the ideas of Crinitus. Perhaps Crinitus had already interpreted the biblical allegories, the psalms etc. in a hieroglyphic sense just as Pierio Valeriano had done, which explicitly revealed him [Crinitus] together with Poliziano and Beroaldo as Reuchlin's predecessor. He also particularly studied the Byzantine author Tzetzes (twelfth century),[119] who, following Diodorus and Chaeremon, had even likened the Homeric poems to hieroglyphic symbols; thus Homer also was a source of later hieroglyphics. Certainly Crinitus also knew the series of hieroglyphs which Tzetzes derived from Chaeremon and which he circulated even further, that is; a woman playing a drum = happiness; a man who holds his beard and looks at the ground = grief; weeping eyes = unhappiness; both hands outstretched and empty = negation, snakes crawling into or out of a hole = the rising or setting of a star; a frog = resurrection; a sparrow-hawk = the soul; the sun = God; a vulture = woman, mother, time or heaven; a bee = a king; a beetle = procreation, from which one is born oneself, a human; a bull = the earth; the front of a lion = nobility, alertness; the tail of a lion = necessity; a deer = a year; a palm tree = a year; a child = growth; an old man = old; an bow = speed.[120] In all these things lay new possibilities and a pointer to new fields which were eagerly adopted by later students of hieroglyphics.

Around the turn of the sixteenth century, the focus of Italian hieroglyphics shifted from Florence to northern Italy, namely to Venice, where the great printer and publisher Aldus Manutius, who had also published the *Hypnerotomachia*, exercised in the most energetic manner the strongest influence over experienced scholars and classical studies. The Aldine "academy" closely matched the Medicean.[121]

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119 See van der Horst p. 25 and p. 62, nt. on fragment 12 for more details on Chaeremon's *Hieroglyphs*. For more on Tzetzes see above 45 nt. 94.

120 The Greek is τὴν ὀξεῖαν δύναμιν which is more accurately translated as per van der Horst as "passionate power."

121 The New Academy or Aldine Academy was supposedly founded c. 1502 by Aldus Manutius but see M. J. C. Lowry, "The new academy*" of Aldus Manutius: a Renaissance dream*, at https://www.escholar.manchester.ac.uk/api/datastream?publicationPid=uk-ac-man-scw:1m2110&datastreamId=post-peer-review-publishers-document.pdf (10/17/2012) who

It was also Aldus, who in the year 1505 printed the first edition of the Horapollo, perhaps influenced by the interest in hieroglyphics which had been awakened through Colonna's work by him and others. First of all, through this edition, the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo found a wider circulation and there soon followed translations into Latin, French and German.[122] As a result of the fact that just at that moment Erasmus of Rotterdam was himself staying with Aldus in Venice,[123] interest in hieroglyphics was substantially increased in northern countries since, in his later and as yet unpublished *Adages*,[124] Erasmus names equally as sources, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and the *Horapollo*; also at this point it could be briefly mentioned that the famous printer's mark of Aldus, which shows the anchor and the dolphin (*Festina lente*), which grew out of the hieroglyphic tradition, is explicitly referred to in the *Adages* (see fig. 72).[125]

Marcantonio Sabellico (actually Coccio) had already in his *Enneads* (Venice 1504, Basel 1560), following Diodorus, expressed himself explicitly on the subject of the Egyptian characters:

> The usage of statues and letters in Egypt was like this: the so-called sacred script was only known by the priests but the other techniques were common to all. And the individual figures of the script were not so much understood as syllables but were similar to animal and human body parts and in some cases hand-signals. Such inscriptions can now be seen in Rome on early memorials for unknown objects, although as we know

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suggests that the Aldine Academy never had a formal existence and such activities as there were discontinued after 1504.

122 Latin translations by Bernhard Trebatius from Vienna, Augsburg 1515, Basel, 1518, Paris 1521; by Filippo Fasanini (Phasananius) from Bologna, 1517; by Willibald Pirckheimer (see below p. 183); French translations, Paris 1543, 1551; German translation by Joh. Herold, Basel 1554 as well as many other translations in the 16th and 17th centuries (**v**).

123 Erasmus stayed eight months with Aldus in 1508 preparing the second edition of the *Adages* for publication which has over 3,000 entries. Erasmus added more and more entries to the *Adages* while he lived and the final number had the astonishing total of 4,251 entries.

124 The chronology given here is not quite accurate since, as Volkmann states, the Horapollo was first published by Aldus in 1505 together with the *Fables of Aesop* but the first edition of the *Adages* was in 1500. However the entry on *Festina Lente* and references to the dolphin and anchor were not incorporated in the *Adages* until the 1508 edition.

125 See Excursus 4 p. 221 below. It should be noted that nowhere does Aldus include the motto *festina lente* as part of his mark although it was incorporated with the dolphin and anchor in his medal made for him in about 1500.

> each figure had its own particular meaning, so that, for instance, the goshawk means speed, the crocodile evil, the eye watchfulness and so on for many others.

The ancient texts of Caelius Rhodiginus (Lodovico Ricchieri from Roviglio),[126] which appeared in 1516 in Milan published by the father-in-law of Aldus and dedicated to the famous French bibliophile Jean Grolier, also belong to the same genre.[127] In this collection of varying subjects, that among other things included many of the proverbs (*adagia*) from the collection of Erasmus, there are also many references to the hieroglyphs explicitly based on Chaeremon (which, according to the remarks of Erasmus, were thought to be found in the *Hypnerotomachia*) and Horapollo. Thus in book XVI (incorrectly in Giehlow XI), chapter 25, using the example of the properties of the partridge, the following digression was inserted:

> Therefore returning again to the partridge, it appears from the script of the Egyptians—which consists of figures of animals and other figures and signs, as Chaeremon and Horapollo teach—that it signifies shamelessness, because this bird from ancient times inflicts evil shamelessly; similarly the eel must signify envy, which is as hostile to goodness as the eel is to fishes, whose company and companionship it avoids. The lower part of the hoofs of the hippopotamus are judged to signify someone who is ungodly, unrighteous and thoughtless.

There follows a long exposition on the thoughtlessness of the hippopotamus, and also on pigeons and their fellows and then he goes on:

> Thus, not without reason, the Egyptians paint two downward pointing hooves of the hippopotamus, so that men, who see and contemplate this,

126 The *Antiquae Lectiones* was the life's work of Caelius Rhodiginus (1469–1525). He began it in the 1480s as a collection of proverbs but after the appearance of the first edition of Erasmus' *Adages* in 1500 he changed the emphasis of the book to include a much wider variety of subject matter; it was very popular and frequently cited. It is said he died of despair after the defeat of the French and the capture of his patron Francis I at the Battle of Pavia. See also Giehlow p. 274 and below pp. 134 and 139.

127 Aldus Manutius died in 1515. In 1508 he had married, Maria, the daughter of Andrea Torresani and after Aldus' death, Torresani managed the business on behalf of the family. The Aldine Press did not close its doors until 1597. Jean Grolier one-time paymaster to the French armies in Italy and later Treasurer of France was one of the greatest book collectors of the time. See p. 133 below for further information.

> should learn from this monstrosity, to conduct themselves more appropriately. From this lesson there appears also to be derived the picture of a king's scepter over a stork, again with a hippopotamus beneath, to indicate from this, that the power of righteousness triumphs, because the hippo is an unrighteous animal. I believe that the letters of this Art should be called hieroglyphs (*hieroglypha grammata*) because the mysteries of sacred things are revealed through them. And Chaeremon, whom we referred to a short time ago, has also written on hieroglyphs. In that work it is shown that with the Egyptians, the so-called sacred scribes, that is, *ἱερογραμματεῖς*.....

(the quotation from Lucan's *Pharsalia* follows (p. 12 above), as do copies of various Egyptian texts from Diodorus and Apuleius). In this way, knowledge of the ancient texts on the hieroglyphs and the newly explored resource of the Horapollo converged ever closer in a quite specific if rather sketchy picture.

Filippo Fasanini also follows the same line in the introduction *ad studiosus* to the above-mentioned short Latin translation of the Horapollo (Bologna 1517), in which he interprets the hieroglyphs by Apuleius, Lucanus and others. But he also obviously knew the *Hypnerotomachia* since he writes further on that:

> we also saw figures of animals, vessels and implements in an image on existing obelisks in Rome, in which in the place of letters there is a circle and within an anchor entwined with a dolphin with its body wound around it.[128]

This was a unique interpretation by the learned translator and commentator, who had also studied hieroglyphics at the University of Bologna. He did not keep to a merely theoretical discussion of such things but rather in the spirit of Colonna wrote of the practical applications of knowledge which could be derived from such an art and its technique and which was relevant to the ever-expanding fashion of employing meaningful symbols and mottos in the composition or creation of all decorative and utilitarian material. Thus he himself

128 Fol. 49 of Fasanini's commentary after the translation. Such a hieroglyph has never to my knowledge been identified but there seems no other possible translation of Fasanini—in spite of the mysterious closing parenthesis. I set out his original Latin: "Vidimus et nos picturam quaedam praeter figuras illas animalium vasorum in obeliscis Romae existibus) in qua circulus primo, mox anchora inerat, quam mediam Delphinus obtorto corpore cicumplecit ..."

stressed that the greater part of his translation could be used by "the wedding poets (*epithalamistae*) whom the newlyweds employed to celebrate their weddings in accordance with the ceremonial custom.... to send them good wishes." All *curiosi homines* [those interested] could understand from his work the true nature and meaning of the animals, birds, fish, trees, herbs etc. and

> from the same could borrow maxims or comments and then add them to swords, rings, headbands, belts, lutes, beds, ceilings, tablecloths, doors, in museums, on tables and mirrors, in bedrooms, on nets, on porcelain or silver vases and even, through the medium of painted or sculpted figures, conceal the secrets of their inner meaning and decorate the walls of their home.[129]

This would also have the advantage that it could only be deciphered by initiates.[130] Thus there can be perceived here already not only the whole core of future emblematics but also, in particular, the "hieroglyphic writing" which the Renaissance dreamed of so often and more of which Pierio Valeriano had described. It is to be doubly regretted that Fasanini, in trying to catch up with his rival,[131] brought out his work very hastily and therefore his original aim to include pictures was not realized. It is nevertheless extremely interesting and very stimulating—at the end he also refers to the obelisks in Rome with their "scarabs, bees, streams, cattle, vultures etc.," and from Rufinus[132] adds to recognized hieroglyphic signs the cross as a symbol of the hope of future salvation and, further on, the eye as "the keeper of justice," the eye with a scepter as "Osiris" after Macrobius and so on.

People were accustomed to combining both picture and script as a single unit in the term graphic art and this is demonstrated perhaps most obviously in the treatise *On Sculpture* of 1504 by the Neapolitan, Pomponius Gauricus.[133]

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129 This is the extract which was copied in a later edition of Alciato to emphasize the purpose of the Emblemata; see Excursus 2 p. 123.

130 This remark reflects a theme which ran through the whole of Western cultural history up to the nineteenth century that knowledge should be restricted to the elite and kept secret from ordinary people, the *idiotae*. See the Introduction to the present work. One example is expressed in the extract from Cesariano on p. 63 below.

131 Volkmann refers here to the translation of the Horapollo by Bernardino Trebazio published in Basel in 1515.

132 Rufinus Tyrannius, (c. 340–405) in his *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* bk. XI, ch. XXIX relates, as does Cassiodorus, how crosses were discovered on the walls of a temple of Serapis.

133 Pomponius Gauricus, *De sculptura*, Florence: 1504. There is a French translation, edited by A. Chastel and R. Klein, Geneva: Droz, 1969.

In this he raises the question whether the ancients as "graphic artists" were describing themselves as authors or painters and sculptors; the technique of the Egyptians showed that to write was synonymous with to paint and to sculpt, so the Egyptians had done just that when they wished either to depict something or pass on their texts. Thus for him the word *graphici* used for both for writing and for symbols would naturally suggest a basis for hieroglyphics. His work circulated everywhere in Germany where an edition appeared in 1542.[134]

Almost at the same time as Fasanini, a Ferraran scholar named Celio Calcagnini, who had prepared the first translation of Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris* which was published just after his death,[135] was engaged in a study of the *Horapollo*. He compressed into an epitome a complete Latin translation of the *Hieroglyphica* and in a letter to his nephew Thomas Calcagnini dated between 1509 and 1517, he writes:

> you ask me whether I have recently translated the *Hieroglyphica* of Horus into Latin and can now explain the whole work as a commentary on the Egyptian writing systems set out in their sacred script. I prefer however to give you by letter a sample of the text, so that you will be able to approach the reading of these important works not unprepared and with some experience. I do this in the most positive manner so as to provide you with every assistance in your studies. And in so doing, you should foster a wider picture, whose outline—since this is the purpose of a sketch—is to be drawn in order both to call on the judgement of others and to have something before your eyes with which you can test out the essentials of it. Thus, after the elimination of the difficulties, you will soon be able to grasp it all,

and then he provides the seventy hieroglyphic entries from Book 1 and the one hundred nineteen from Book II with short summaries of their meaning, eventually following on with: "This is borrowed from Horus, even though the little book [of Horus] which is being circulated, is in no way worthy of so great

134 See also the note (p. 151 below) on the work of Philander who repeats this attribution.

135 Included in the edition of his works by Froben in Basel in 1544 with the title 'De Rebus Aegyptiacis' which for a long time was assumed to be Calcagnini's only treatise on the subject—in the same edition is the letter with the extract from Horapollo. See Giehlow (1915) Appendix 1. The same also from Book 1 of the Horapollo by an unknown scholar around 1500, from a manuscript of Bibliotheca Nazionale in Naples (Cod. V. E. 5) (**v**). Calcagnini's letter with commentary is actually in Giehlow (1915) Appendix II. The Naples Codex is Appendix 1. These Appendices are not included in the Giehlow 2015 edition.

a name and is further from the tradition than others."[136] There follows a further list of hieroglyphic signs, which are taken from Ammianus Marcellinus, Servius, Diodorus, Rufinus, Eusebius, Jamblichus and Plutarch and he closes with these words:

> You have here, my son, the naked pictures of things and equally their bare outline which we have decorated with tints and colors, so that I would say that the best of all proverbs to apply here is, 'the sauce is greater than the roast.'[137] Live well.

It is conceivable that with such a widening of the hieroglyphic studies and ideas, whole modes of thought and perception were so completely saturated with hieroglyphs that scholars were able to detect the overall relationships and then the overall secret wisdom not only in the Egyptian but also in Greco-Roman monuments and traditions. The animal world as Fasanini also pointed out was soon viewed in such a sense, whereby classical and medieval elements were mixed without contradiction and even the zoological works of the sixteenth century contained individual sections on the hieroglyphic meaning of animals (for instance, Ulisses Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum Historia*, page 347, and equally in Valeriano and the aforementioned Table of Bembo).[138] Leonardo da Vinci also concerned himself with these questions and certainly in his earlier years had sketched an Art of the Bestiary,[139] which contained many symbolic

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136 Volkmann mistranslates this last phrase which in the original is *Ceterum ex aliorum traditionibus*, that is, "the remainder is from other sources."

137 "Plus est mantissa quam obsonium" (correctly: mantisa obsonia vincit; Lucilius) that is, literally: the sauce overwhelms the meat (**v**).

138 Ulisses Aldrovandi, *Monstrorum Historia*, Bologna: Tebaldini, 1642 p. 347 has a short section entitled *Hieroglyphica* with remarks taken mostly from Tacitus. Volkmann takes the references to Valeriano and the Bembine Table from this extract. A note on the Bembine table is given below p. 251 but the images on the Table are now believed to be without significance. Volkmann references the *Physiologus* and the bestiaries in several places throughout his text but deals very summarily with them.

139 J. P. Richter, *The literary works of Leonardo da Vinci*, London: Sampson Low, 1883, Vol. II p. 319 ff. (**v**). There are several on-line editions of Richter's work, for instance: http://www.sacred-texts.com/aor/dv/. There is a myriad modern books on Leonardo. For instance, Walter Isaacson in the Acknowledgements to his *Leonardo da Vinci*, Simon and Shuster, 2017, cites the seventy-two books or articles authored by Martin Kemp alone on the subject. Leonardo's *Bestiary* can be found in E. Maccurdy, *Notebooks of Leonardo da Vinci*, New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1939, vol. II pp. 469 ff. Maccurdy cites G. Calvi, *Il Manoscritto H di Leonardo da Vinci. Il fiore di Virtu'e L'Acerba di Cecco d'Ascoli*, Archivio Storico Lombardo, XXV, XIX, 1898 as describing Leonardo's sources. This latter can be

animal fables and thus spilled over in many ways into our field of study although I cannot speak to any individual hieroglyph from this work.[140] He attested there the beaver as a symbol of peace, because it mutilated itself voluntarily, so as to bring peace to the hunters,[141] and the hoopoe or alternatively the stork for appreciation and filial love, the lion for strength, and the eagle for generosity since he leaves one part of his prey for other birds (see above the medallion of King Alfons by Vittor Pisano). These are all symbols which are again widely used in later hieroglyphs and emblems and Leonardo forgot neither the elephant nor the pelican, the salamander, the chameleon nor the crocodile with its crocodile tears. On the other hand, he shows that in some cases his signs were for him not far removed from a true symbolic script and his written observations accompanying his drawings give a clue as to how he wished to be understood.

J. P. Richter in Volume 1 of the Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci p. 350 has published a count of the allegorical and emblematic examples, that is those with pictures, which are to be found in the Royal Library at Windsor, in the British Museum and in Paris and which derive from the years 1490–1516. In particular, on Plate 63 in his book there are shown various illustrations on the theme of a mask which has been melted by the sun or spoiled by fire to symbolize lies conquered by truth. The caption (no. 683 according to Richter) reads: "Truth—the sun, Lies—a mask, Innocence—evil. Fire destroys lies and thus the sophist, and reveals the truth driving out darkness … Fire is an indicator of truth since it destroys every sophist and lies, and the mask symbolizes falsity and lies, the shadow of truth." In a similar symbol, shown at no. 683: "the ivy is (a symbol) of long life." Further on, Richter quite correctly has brought others together under the heading "Mottos and Emblems;" in Illustration 62, there is a plow with the caption "Ostinato rigore" [persistence] and a rudder with a compass, as well as a sun with the caption "Destinato rigore" [determination] (no. 681),[142] and further on a piece of burning wood as the symbol of ingratitude, because the fire consumes the wood, on which it was feeding

found on-line at: www.internetculturale.it/jmms/iccuviewer/iccu.jsp?id=oai%3Abid.bradense.it%3A7%3AMI0185%3AEVA_113_A61043 (11/17/17).

140 Leonardo's work has almost 100 entries a large number for a Bestiary but these are divided into two sections: the first describes the quality that is symbolized e.g. humility and the second the symbol e.g. the eagle.

141 This is how Leonardo defines it but the usual ancient symbolism going back to Aesop is stronger. The beaver was hunted for the medicinal use of its testicles so when cornered the beaver supposedly bites these off to avoid capture and thus symbolizes determination.

142 (*h*)*ostinato rigore, destinato rigore* taken together were among Leonardo's favorite expressions.

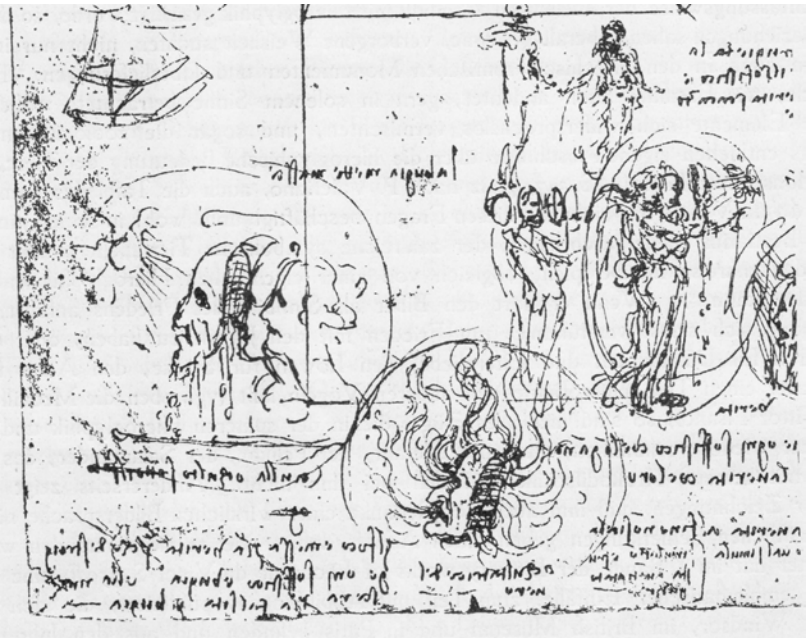

FIGURE 23 *Leonardo da Vinci. Emblematic Drawing—Windsor. After J. P. Richter, The Literary Works of Leonardo da Vinci.*

(no. 686). Then there is a human head, which shines from within the sun and emits light, equally a picture of ingratitude and then: *Quando apparisce il sole che scaccia le tenebre in commune, tu spegni il lume che te le scacciava in particulare tua necessità e commodità* [When the sun rises which disperses the general darkness, you extinguish the light which illuminated your particular necessities and comforts] (no. n87). The original is no. 672, the picture of a plant with its roots above and facing upwards for a symbol of the end.

A shield shows an arrow, on the left of which is a dragon and on the right a lion, which stands for: "Prudence—strength" (no. 692); no. 694 shows a man who is freeing a bird, while above waits a bird of prey, of which the meaning is: *Corta liberta*, [A short freedom] and no. 696 with the motto *Per non disobbidire* [Do not disobey] symbolized through a dog attacking a snake. Next to the trunk of a tree sprouting from a piece of rice, stands *Albero tagliato che rimette—ancora spero* [A chopped tree which regrows—I still hope] and beneath near the sign of a bird of prey is the inscription *Falcon—tempo* [Falcon—time]. All these examples, of which I could provide more, do not actually have to do directly with individual hieroglyphs from the Renaissance, they are associated more with what we shall later discuss—the field of emblematics and devices

or even with puns and puzzles. A simple pun is demonstrated for example when Leonardo (fig. LIX or no. 676 of the text) gives a mantrap as an allegory of joy and grief, because this gives men hardship (tribolatione); the word for mantrap is tribolo in Italian!

The additional fact that many artists gathered together in the context of the civic festivals and tournaments to create shields and crests for Ludovico il Moro (no. 673), points to the association with heraldry and shows that these forms of expression belonged to one large, common field of knowledge even if they did not point directly to hieroglyphics.

Real and explicit symbols signifying hieroglyphs such as this were found in a fully Italian environment in the Italian edition of Vitruvius by Cesare Cesariano, Director of Construction of the Cathedral of Milan, which appeared in 1521 at Como, published by Gotard da Ponte and completed by Benedictus Jovius[143] and Bonus Maurus.[144] Later it became influential in Germany. At the end of the commentary on book II (fol. 46^{v}) hieroglyphs are referred to in the following words:

> In this way, these puzzles contain and represent important significance for the reader; in particular they represent for scholars things with a higher meaning, because the divine word should not be so easily comprehensible for all people. And therefore, the Egyptians write such things by means of hieroglyphs (ieraglyphi); we say ciphers or characters for these things (Ziphere seu Kractere [sic]), as princes also are accustomed to communicate secrets. And it appears to me to be a wisdom of greater importance …

And on fol. 65^{v} he also shows the picture of a temple façade; in the spaces between the columns, white on a black background, are positioned two column bases (stylobates), whose sculptured ornaments are described in a commentary on fol. 66 as follows:

143 The brother of Paulo Giovio of device fame.

144 *De Architectura libri X* by Lucius Vitruvius Pollionus, translated from the Latin into the vernacular etc., Como: da Ponte, 1521. Giehlow has not cited this interesting book (**v**). Volkmann has the two Vitruvius confused. The author was Marcus Vitruvius Pollio. For Lucius Vitruvius Cerdo see nt. 109 above. A facsimile can be found at http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/Traite/Images/BPNME276Index.asp (6/2/2016). Cesariano was not appointed Director of Construction of the Cathedral until 1535.

> And thus a doric (stylobate) shown with the letter delta which originated from Roman hieroglyphs of ancient times (de la Romane vetustate Ieragliphate) and beneath this it has other sculptured figures, which I will describe here … Under the shelf on each of the four corners there is a ram's head, from which hangs a garland of leaves. Under each corner there is a stork with a curved neck, [the beaks] touching each other. Beneath them are two small birds which are feeding on ears of corn. Above the leafy garland is the head of a Medusa, and over this a tripartite plate which reads "Tito Claudio erepto fatis iniquissimus."[145]

There is no doubt that this design is originally taken from a Roman antique and is surely not a column base but a gravestone; according to W. Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*[146] [Roman Gravestones of the Empire], one can find quite similar pieces shown in [his] figures 39 and 60. This last even has the inscription "Ti. Claudio Argyro," and perhaps this can itself be shown to be a direct copy. Also in the *Hypnerotomachia* (fol. y3) there is a similar image, a column base in the midst of which is depicted a sacrificial scene with satyrs. Cesariano does not give an explanation of any of the hieroglyphs

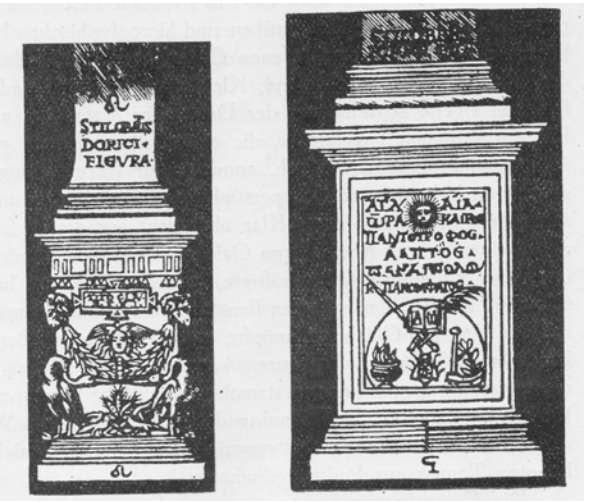

FIGURE 24 *Doric and Ionic column bases with Hieroglyphs from the Vitruvius of Cesare Cesariano, 1521.*

145 See below p. 213 nt. 177 for a full discussion of the origin of this phrase.

146 Berlin: Weidmann, 1905.

in his Vitruvius; it is hardly credible that there was one unless perhaps there is the possibility of some secret meaning, although the ram's head, storks and the head of Medusa are referenced, for instance, in Pierio Valeriano. Also, I was not able to understand the relationship with the inscription and, above all, how to bring the Medusa with *fatum iniquissimum* [most unjust fate][147] into the whole relationship.

The ionic base can neither generally in its figurative statement nor in its inscription be interpreted any more closely; briefly, the front panel "can be treated as referring to the inscription of hieroglyphs on seals or *Zoie bulate*" (Zoie = gioie = jewellery, bulate = bollate = seal; 'seal' almost certainly means gems).[148] The pictorial statement can in no way be derived from antiquity; it is much more obviously contemporaneous with, and in fact reminds one strongly of the hieroglyphs of the *Hypnerotomachia* (see figs. 7 and 9); at the top is a shining sun, beneath an arc of a circle within which is a sword crossed with a palm branch and upon them is an open book showing the letters alpha and omega and beneath a vase with fire burning within, and a bee and a plow with a branch. Only the beginning of the inscription is legible although it is certainly a quotation of some antiquity, as follows: AGLAIA ORA KAIROS PANTOTROPHOS AAPTOS...,[149] It is not possible to decipher the remainder, perhaps it was a mistake by the engraver so that it is impossible to assign a definite meaning here beyond the reference to the all-nourishing sun. However the above figures are useful as examples of how such statements were seen quite self-evidently as 'hieroglyphic' and equally easily were sought as symbols laden with meaning whenever anyone did not wish to attribute a more definite sense to the figure. It must have been welcome, even popular, as a specific guide to deciphering the individual letters of these symbolic signs. It was directly though the circle of the Aldine Academy, that is through these two protagonists with similar names, uncle and nephew, that all this was developed as the fruit of their studies. It was from the first of them that the groundbreaking collection of material originated and from the second the finalization of the process of mastering the massive amount of all the evidence. This is where we can find the high point of the hieroglyphic art of the Italian Renaissance.

Fra Urbano Valeriano Bolzano (also della Fosse, c. 1443–1524), a Franciscan monk, had lived in Treviso for six years at the same time as Fra Francesco Colonna and there is no doubt that the two of them must have simultaneously

147 Referring to the Latin inscription given above.

148 This interpretation is taken word for word from Cesariano's commentary.

149 This does not seem to be a quotation but a description or title meaning "beautiful, fitting, decorous, all-nourishing and invincible."

stimulated and encouraged each other's antiquarian and hieroglyphic interests in spite of the fact that they belonged to different monastic orders. In a journey taking many years, Fra Urbano had traveled through many countries of ancient culture, including Greece, Asia Minor, Palestine and Egypt and in so doing he acquired a comprehensive unified view of the field such as few others have provided. The detailed diaries which he kept on this journey are unfortunately lost and since he was not an author but only a dedicated teacher, for his view of the hieroglyphs we have to rely upon the respectful personal stories which his nephew Pierio Valeriano interspersed within his work [that is, in the *Hieroglyphica*]. But it is clear from these that Fra Urbano had been the central inspiration of a whole circle of teachers who at that time was engaged in Venice with the hieroglyphs and their interpretation. It is of particular interest, that he, as tutor of Giovanni Medici later Pope Leo X, dwelt some time in Florence, cultivated close relationships with the local teachers and to some extent was able to transfer the Florentine tradition of hieroglyphics to Venice. For a most inspiring and intimate view of this tradition as it was fostered by these Venetian teachers arguing such questions, we can listen to a discussion in which Pierio Valeriano focused on his uncle in the dedication of the thirty-third book of his work, and which, as well as Fra Urbano, included the Venetian senator Daniele Rinieri,[150] Leonico Leoniceno from Ferrara and Leonico Tomeo from Padua.[151]

The visitors had been introduced to the famous teacher in the spring of 1522 at a course for his students on Pindar and, establishing relations with them at his first meeting after they arrived, he gave his opinion on the hieroglyphic meaning of the eye as the mirror of the soul. As he wished to come to Pindar after this, Rinieri said:

> No, Father Urbanus, in good time you can come to this discussion on the Eygptian letters. For the whole of yesterday and today, I have distressed my guests, Leonicenus and Leonicus, since I discussed this field of knowledge, which admittedly has been elucidated very eruditely, just as though it was one of the mysteries of Ceres; but we openly acknowledge that we find ourselves in embarrassment when we try to fit the parts into a whole. But the reason for this investigation is that Bembo has sent me

150 A distinguished humanist and scholar and with Urbano a "named" member of the Aldine Academy. However see p. 54 nt. 121 above.

151 For further discussion of Leoniceno and Tomeo see the references in *The Philosopher in Early Modern Europe: The Nature of a Contested Identity*, (eds. C. Condren, S. Gaukroger, I. Hunter) Cambridge U. P., 2010, p. 92 nt. 7 (for Tomeo), nt. 9 (for Leoniceno).

> from Rome a copy of a marvelous table[152] derived from ancient times, on which are to be found many signs from the obelisks. As this was obviously at one time brought from Egypt and since you have journeyed in Egypt where there is a great mass of such inscriptions, and as a result of your own guarded enthusiasm for the exploration of all antiquity, we think that these things should not be foreign to you. We have also got here the Horus Aegyptius, translated into Greek by a certain Philippus, who apparently understood all this material. But we found this manuscript although it was published by our meticulous Aldus[153] to be defective and incomprehensible in many places, not through his error but rather due to the state of the original manuscripts which were very rare and all of them damaged. And for this reason we have now come to you in order to hear from you if you know anything about this. And you have already begun by naming the hieroglyph of the eye, so we ask you do not delay further.[154]

Fra Urbano replied to this, that he would examine these difficult questions as well as he could from his knowledge of Egyptian and Roman monuments as well as ancient scripts. However, apart from trifles, he had not found anywhere the slightest hints of guidance or understanding and even the little book of Niliacus (Horus), which also addresses the same subject, provides only fragments of material and these are very corrupt.

His expositions, which drew from both classical and also Christian sources, attracted many more participants so that the following remarks of Rinieri were particularly meaningful for a further expansion of the theory of hieroglyphics:

> As much as I remarked on what would have been adduced up to now, I found, that the things, that we are able to deduce from the tradition of the ancients on the interpretation of the hieroglyphs, are very few and seldom correct. I notice indeed that you, Tomeo, have prudently had recourse to the wisdom of the Greeks and Latins so as to enrich yourself

152 The "Isiac Table" which I have mentioned several times, also called the Bembine Table, was found in Rome close to the Iseum and came into the possession of Bembo. The bronze table inlaid with silver, now in the Turin museum, was thought to signify hieroglyphically in a fantastic manner (v). Volkmann refers frequently below to editions of commentaries on the Isiac Table and as he says the Table is now in the Museo Egizio, Turin.

153 The *editio princeps* of the *Horapollo* was published by Aldus in 1505 as one of a collection of texts including the *Fables of Aesop* by which the edition is usually known.

154 As Volkmann says above, this passage is taken from the dedication to Urbano in Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica* Ch. XXXIII, fol. 233. See also Giehlow (2015) p. 204, nt. 83 for further discussion.

> and give yourself a firm grounding; what Urbano also did admirably, was to provide a guide, particularly to the sacred scripts. Then even though images of things for words were customary for the Egyptians, so there are, as I see it, the dicta of philosophy, poetry, history and even of spiritual wisdom hidden therein.

Thus everyone brought new material from his particular field to these symbols and their interpretation so that the secret knowledge of the Egyptians could be understood and thereby compared with others. But the less one is in the position of deciphering the hieroglyphs of the Egyptians, the more one dreams of some general script which can be shown to be hieroglyphic but comprises everything which can be designated as symbolism and allegory from Egyptian, Greek, Roman or biblical sources. Only in this way is it possible to understand correctly Pierio Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum aliarumque gentium literis* which first appeared in Basel in 1556 and later was published in many new editions.

Giovanni Pietro della Fosse was born in Belluno in 1477 and by the age of 16 he was living with his uncle in Venice, where he enjoyed contacts with noted teachers and was soon introduced to hieroglyphic studies. Already, by around the year 1505, he revealed himself as an able interpreter of this field, as one instance demonstrates which he himself relates in the dedication of his 46th Book to Benedictus Agnellus. He reports there about his studies and his teacher, that is Fra Urbano, from whom he had inherited an interest in antiquity and who, whenever possible shared something new about his travels. Similarly, from the contact of his uncle with Benedictus Agnellus he had been introduced to numismatics. And thereupon he goes on:

> If he said anything that had reference to Egyptian hieroglyphics, I was extremely happy. One day your uncle[155] brought in a small figure in bronze, the posture of which was such that it had a reclining body, the right hand with the elbow supporting it, holding its head up with the other hand pouring water from three urns bound together by a single strap. Carefully worked little boys, sixteen in number, appear to play here and

155 If Benedictus Agnellus was indeed the nephew of Urbano Valeriano, he and Pierio Valeriano would have been cousins. *Patruus*, the word used by Valeriano, does indeed mean paternal uncle but could be used loosely to denote any distant male relative. However even this does not seem likely since Agnellus was apparently a native of Lyon and member of the French delegation which accompanied John Lascaris to Venice. Perhaps this just a mistake for "my uncle."

> there around the whole body. Agnellus says about this that such a subject cannot be without significance and must have some meaning. I answer that the figure must be the Nile; the three urns the origin of its three fold source, the sixteen little boys so many cubits of the measure of its fertility.

No doubt Pierio[156] derived his exposition from the 21st chapter of book 1 of the Horapollo, in which three urns are defined as hieroglyphs of the sources of the Nile.

He then, as he further relates, studied in Padua, where he heard Leonico Tomeo in particular and then in 1509 went to Rome, where he took up hieroglyphic studies even more enthusiastically and lived with piles and baskets full of the rare materials he had found elsewhere. These induced him to write various papers on ἱερογλυφικῶς [hieroglyphics] to his friends. In Rome he also assisted in the excavation of the great marble figure of the Nile with the sixteen putti, the story of which he remembered as shown from the experience recounted above.

The practice of dedicating particular sections to different friends persisted through to the final form of the book; this had engaged him as his life's work and this, through Pierio's individual efforts, had already had great appeal in authoritative circles long before the complete work was printed with a dedication to Cosimo Medici and thus came to the public notice. A few years after the appearance of the first edition, in 1558 or 1560, Pierio, after he had served long spells as secretary to the Cardinal Giulio Medici and tutor to Ippolito Medici in Venice, died in Padua. The arrangement and order for the printed material was taken from that of Diodorus; in Volume 1 he discusses animals, descending from the mammals to the lower animals and in Volume II he examines parts of the human body, beginning with the head, and then later mathematical figures, implements, stars, elements and finally plants. The contents of each section is connected by some particular personal characteristic of the dedicatee, as is shown in both examples mentioned above; another example is the symbol of the dove dedicated to the widowed Vittoria Colonna,[157] because a black dove signifies true widowhood according to Horapollo II, 23.

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156 Valeriano was persuaded to change his name from Pietro to Pierio by Marcantonio Sabellico when he first arrived in Venice in 1493. See Giehlow (2015), p. 210.

157 Valeriano, book 22. Vittoria Colonna (1492–1547) was renowned as the first and greatest of the Italian women poets. She had been married to the Marchese Pescara, one of the most successful of the Imperialist generals but he had died of wounds suffered at the Battle of Pavia in 1525.

The *Hieroglyphica* derives its meaning, and this shows the immense erudition of its author, from diverse artistic sources—that is, from Egyptian, and there his references often stem from the Horapollo, from Greek and Roman sources and from the Scriptures—indeed Pierio became a priest himself around 1537. He used not less than 79 verses from the Psalms, as one of his indexes shows, and near the end of the dedication letter to Cosimo Medici, he refers not only to Moses and the prophets, whose authority he suggests is similar to that of the hieroglyphs, but he even quotes Psalm 78, 2: "I will open my mouth in a parable: I will utter dark sayings of old."[158] Here he adds the note that the Savior intended only to say thereby that "I will speak hieroglyphically and bring forth allegorically the memories of antiquity." He even quotes many times from the Kabbalah in Reuchlin's edition (books 34 and 44).[159]

From this mix of heterogeneous elements, indeed itself a sign of Renaissance hieroglyphics, we can illustrate here only a single example which is given from the images in the book and this immediately shows how completely unEgyptian was the nature of the speech which they were adopting. Apart from this, the relevant analysis of Giehlow should also be referenced since it recognizes the relationships of Valeriano with other researchers such as Calcagnini, Achille Bocchi and Paolo Giovio respectively.[160]

Valeriano frequently derives material from Horus, whom he often quotes and even imitates in style, for instance when in his Book 5 he symbolizes a prince or judge by means of a dog, who is carrying a ribbon or mantle round his neck. In Horapollo 1, 40 almost this exact meaning can be found. Once he even criticizes the Egyptian [language] (Book 33) for the symbol of the man "eating the hours" representing a "Horoscopist." If this is intended to mean that man takes food every hour, one could, he says, better use a rose, an ear of corn and an apple all of which could be put in the mouth as symbols of eating.[161] Often he also uses the Bembine Table[162] as evidence and brings freer interpretations to it such as with the basilisk in Book 14 and the scepter of the Egyptian king in Book 16[163] which is placed over the head of a stork and beneath the feet of a hippopotamus, thus signifying the struggle of piety over godlessness. In connection to this he says particularly: "This scepter was thus shown in the bronze table of Bembo …" He also refers in Book 20 to the Table which, he says, relates

158 King James Version.

159 For Reuchlin, see p. 166 below.

160 Giehlow (2015), p. 220.

161 According to Valeriano, these three represented the three seasons of the Egyptian year.

162 For the Bembine or Isiac Table see p. 251 below.

163 This reference is actually in Valeriano, book 17 although the folio in question, 125, is misprinted as Book XVI.

FIGURE 25
Pierio Valeriano Hieroglyphica, Book 5. Prince (*From the 1575 Basel edition*).

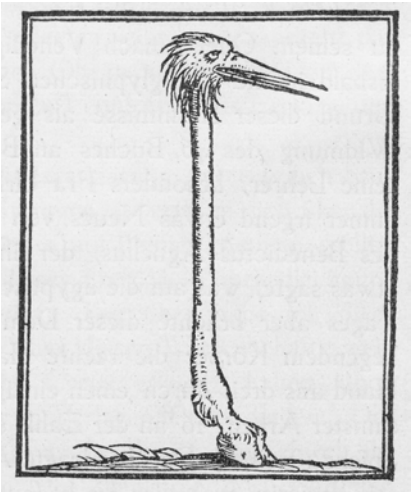

FIGURE 26
Pierio Valeriano Hieroglyphica, Book 16. Egyptian Royal Scepter (*From the Bembine Table*).

the whole of Egyptian history in gold and silver and in Book 23 he adds that on this Egyptian document are displayed countless griffins and other fabulous animals which with their mystical philosophy were disseminated from Egypt all over Greece and Italy. Thus for him, Greek and Roman texts were also directly derived from the hieroglyphic writing of the Egyptians and this emerges not only from the numerous statues and buildings (such as the Erechtheion[164])

164 The Erechteion is the small temple at the entrance to the Acropolis in Athens which was built in the late fifth century BCE. The most noteworthy feature of the Erectheion are the caryatids, columns in the form of women, supporting the south porch of the temple. For a history, see http://www.ancient.eu/Erechtheion/ (5/11/17). But the temple does not appear to have any specific Egyptian origin.

which he adduces but which were also quite unambiguously expressed. Thus in the dedication of Book 26 to Johannes Grimani he remembers a conversation about Roman monuments, in which rich material for conversation is supplied for every secret mystery by these paintings and pictures which come from the ancients and which mute speech makes comprehensible through pictures of things and not through discussion or anything expressed in words. No doubt this was derived from the rites of the Egyptian priests, which sought, through silent understanding, to unite those nations where any pursuit of knowledge was to be found.

FIGURE 27
Pierio Valeriano Hieroglyphica, Book 2. Piety.

FIGURE 28
Pierio Valeriano Hieroglyphica, Book 2. Gentleness.

FIGURE 29
Pierio Valeriano Hieroglyphica, Book 17. Watchfulness.

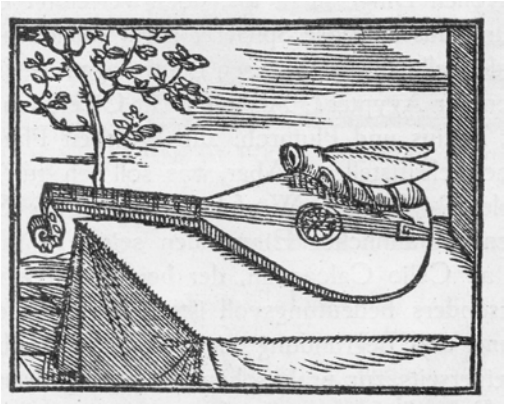

FIGURE 30
Pierio Valeriano Hieroglyphica, Book 26. Music (*Cicada*).

In this he approaches the views of Annius whose forgeries, although long known to be such by critics, he thoughtlessly adopted and whose hieroglyphic pillar in Viterbo (see above p. 27) he refers to in Books 21, 32 and 51. At the same time, he proceeds with his attempt to reconcile hieroglyphic wisdom with Christian teaching, especially in respect of the moralizing element which, equating the similar characteristics of man and animal, is given either as a model or as an ethical admonition—just as it is in the Physiologus or the medieval bestiaries. Then there is the elephant, which washes itself in the river during the new moon and thereby signifies piety or as the symbol of meekness strolling among the lambs as shown in Book 2; in Book 17, there is the crane, signifying vigilance because it holds a stone in its uplifted claw so that if it becomes drowsy the stone would fall and waken it, while democracy is wittily indicated by a flock of cranes which most significantly all fly with their heads

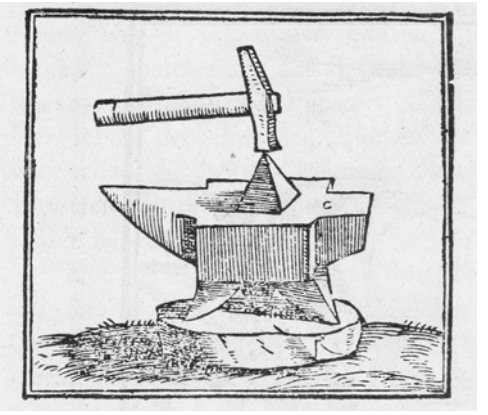

FIGURE 31
Pierio Valeriano Hieroglyphica, Book 41. Invincible (*from Rock*).

together. Such things were exceptionally popular and were repeated in later emblematics in the same manner as in the ancient animal fables, For instance in a story of Strabo, the cicada sitting on a cither was seen as a hieroglyph of music (Book 26).[165] In Book 41, Valeriano remembered from Pliny and the medieval lapidaries the symbolism of the stone; the diamond as the hardest stone remained a favorite symbol of overpowering strength.

In general it should be said that Pierio Valeriano does not bring any fundamentally new approach to the Egyptian script but he certainly collected interpretations in what was up until then an unprecedented completeness and enlarged his exposition with new symbols, and wove, through countless images, an exceptional and stimulating whole. Hieroglyphs were for him an especially pure script although he understood the phonetic nature of the demotic script since he says in Book 47: "If I ask myself, what was the basis of the script of the Egyptians, I have to think that it was partly images of tools but mostly of animals." He follows Plutarch, for whom the first letter of the alphabet must have been pictured from the legs of the ibis, and similarly the total number of Egyptian letters must have been fifteen.[166] He sought an actual decipherment of the hieroglyphs within an astute understanding of the limits of his knowledge; in our time, as he put it in the dedication to Cosimo Medici, there is no one sufficiently learned who is able to understand or interpret the obelisks which can be found in Rome and elsewhere or that amazing Bembine Table. Therefore, as he says, he takes the study of these mysterious things no further, a course which he zealously advocates for all those who would otherwise involve

165 For the origin of this story see p. 92 nt. 18.

166 *De Iside et Osiride*, ch. 56.

themselves in a needless and pointless pastime. Ironically, he writes in Book 9 [fol. 66]:

> What then—as all those nose followers will say—does this courtier want with his commentary on the sacred script of the Egyptians? As if Cicero would not suffice with his elegant explanation of many things, of the scholarship of Pliny and Plutarch, of the wisdom of Plato and Aristotle and so many other Greek and Roman authors. But what should I do, if I wish to remain free from business affairs? Should I play dice? Or chess?

And at the end of Book 6, he justifies against similar objections his twenty-four years of work on these things in an impassioned appeal to Celio Calcagnini who as a result certainly found further insight into these questions.

But it is particularly meaningful on the other hand that Valeriano did not remain rigid with this theoretical inquiry and basis, but that he, as a real humanist, also advocated practical activity. As is revealed in his many dedications to his friends, they often directly requested advice from him as to how they could represent symbols hieroglyphically and as he confesses openly in the third book, his whole work could be made use of by anyone who needed it, just for the sake of the art; he also wished to make available to them historical information on the Egyptian and other occult mysteries which could be combined together. Thus he reached without difficulty the idea of a single "hieroglyphic script" to which he at the close of Book 54 gives the following example:

> That one can depict or picture the concept of friendship through the hieroglyphic arts, we have made clear throughout the whole work … if anyone wishes to write "fruitful friendship" after the manner of the Egyptians, they could depict a myrtle wreath with a pomegranate.

Pierio himself made a single attempt to "write" a whole sentence hieroglyphically in this way. He chose the subjects for this from ancient literature and for the ground of the inscription he used a symbolic obelisk. This is also the temple inscription of Sais of which he tries to give an interpretation following Plutarch (Book 31) and on which are shown a child, an old man, a vulture, a fish and a hippotamus by which childhood, old age, piety, hate and shamelessness are symbolized. In this passage a complete interpretation in the context was lacking, so the humanists found a good opportunity for their own imagination and both Calcagnini and Valeriano tried it themselves. The latter read from it: we are born, we grow old, we live, we die by the dissolution of nature and he gives the following interpretations of the signs: the whole means the

cursoriness of human life, whereby the child's head means birth and the man's head means old age. The vulture signifies God, love and thus life, the fish hatred of the dangers of the sea or death and finally the hippo means complete outrage; here it stands for contradiction because it lives in two elements and has two hooves. One can see from this example how far distant Pierio himself was from his belief that the hieroglyphic signs were rather obvious and easily comprehensible. From the immense mass of material which he worked on, he could not have achieved much more, without seeming pedantic and strained and without the same things appearing contradictory.

He takes a further example of a hieroglyphic sentence from the victory column of Sesostris derived from Diodorus[167] on which is inscribed: "he conquers the strong by force of arms, he conquers the weak by fame." This is denoted on a fragment of an obelisk by the sign of a vulture, a bow and arrow, a male member, a knife, a collection of lightning bolts and female sexual parts! The basic similarity of this "hieroglyphic script" to that of the hieroglyphics of the *Hypnerotomachia* of Colonna immediately comes to mind and obviously Pierio knew this latter work well and used it himself. He refers to it again when he says in Book 7: "Even more recently[168] there have been invented many hieroglyphic signs. I have not ignored these but have actually made use of them where the particular place demanded." In Book 2 he reproduces, though without giving the source, quite directly from one of Colonna's characteristic hieroglyphic pictures; in the text after the mention of the elephant as the sign for both harmony and discord he writes:

> But here we read the meaning that underlies the remarks of Sallust: through harmony small things grow, through doubt great things will be destroyed, and we are by no means unhappy with this novel design. In one place an ant is growing out of an elephant and in another an elephant disappears into an ant. In the center there is a caduceus which separates fire and water which are to be read together.

Also he repeatedly describes the anchor and dolphin as the symbol of speed when he writes in Book 27 and particularly in Book 45: "The dolphin twisted round the anchor, which is a symbol we have seen on a single coin of Titus Vespasian, usually signifies … speed."[169] He adds to this, that the motif which

167 See above p. 10 above for a description of this reference in Diodorus.

168 In several passages in his text Valeriano uses the word *juniores* which Volkmann translates literally as "young men" but I take to mean "more recent authors."

169 Volkmann uses the word *Eile* meaning "speed" but Valeriano is commenting on *Maturandum*, the Latin for "carefully" or "cautiously" which is the more correct

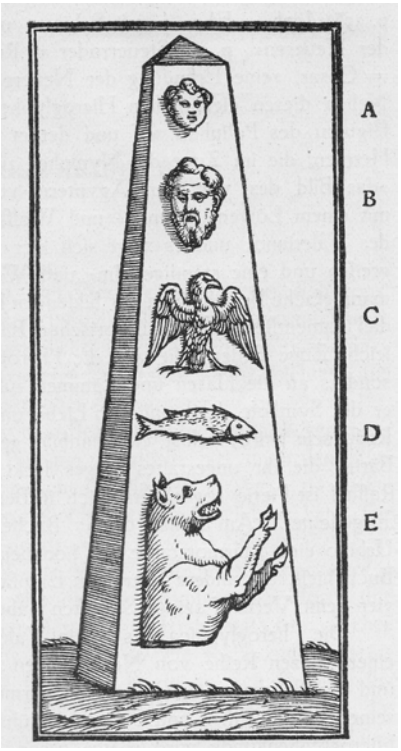

FIGURE 32
Pierio Valeriano Hieroglyphica, Book 32. The Temple Inscriptions at Sais. A We are born. B We grow old. C We live. D We die. E the Disintegration of Nature.

of course is famous, is known by all blindmen and barbers;[170] he also says "our Aldus" has used this motif in all the books which he published.[171] In particular, the following hieroglyphs have been taken from the *Hypnerotomachia*: on fol. 115^{v} the caduceus for harmony and joy; fol. 343, water and fire for doubt; fol. 127, a pair of ibises for the Egyptians; fol. 287^{v}, coins in a circle for public support; fol. 330^{v}, a comet for Caesar; fol. 355, a flail for the month of August as "a more recent invention;" fol. 368, a plumbline = a building; fol. 174^{v}, a goose and anchor = safe protection and again with the explanation "a more recent commentary;" fol. 234^{v}, an eye on the sole of a shoe = God subjugates, wherein he doubts that the origin of this hieroglyph could stem from recent times; fol. 406^{v}, a vessel with an open mouth = the soul; fol. 201, a turtle = indolence; fol.

interpretation of the motif with the motto "Hasten, slowly." Alciato also uses the dolphin and anchor with *Maturandum* in Emblem 20 (in later editions).

170 This phrase, *lippis et tonsoribus*, meaning of course that it is common knowledge, comes from Horace's *Seventh Satire*.

171 See Excursus 4 p. 221 below for a summary of the origins of Aldus's printers mark. Aldus did not begin using the mark until 1501/2.

227^{v}, two faces = two souls [DM: the gods of the departed]; fol. 356, a spindle = death; fol. 310, two crossed arrows = contrast; fol. 342^{v}, two crossed torches = mutual love; fols. 380/81, cypress and pine branches = death; fol. 358, a yoke = marriage; fol. 318, a sword and balance = the weighing of justice, again as a "new invention"; fol. 337, a rudder = rule; fol. 386^{v}, an olive branch = clemency or forgiveness; fol. 315^{v}, a sword = Caesar, "a more recent but not unhappy invention"; fol. 408^{v}, a basin = generosity.

Besides these individual hieroglyphs, he also used other figures from the *Hypnerotomachia* which Giehlow overlooked, and in turn he revealed their correct interpretation. Among these are included the three-headed Hermes, which was carried in the train of nymphs and satyrs (*Hypnerotomachia* fols. x8^{v} and y1^{v}), and "the picture of the revered Serapis of the Egyptians" which can be found thus on a pole, with the head of a lion, a dog and a wolf. The meaning of this is contained in Book 32 of Valeriano[172] and this again shows how all these fantastic concepts interweave with each other and lead to a further but increasingly complete picture. It seems obvious that from these manifold connections between these images of the time there must follow, as Giehlow quite rightly remarks, that, particularly in the allegorical pictures of Venetian artists such as for example Giovanni Bellini, one can find influences which both derive from hieroglyphs and can be explained by them. For instance he points to the hounds and the lambs of Titian's *Divine and Earthly Love* in which he sees the symbols of both sensual love and innocence. Titian himself chose a symbol that was unmistakably taken from the Horapollo,[173] the she-bear which licks her unformed young with the motto "Art is more powerful than nature" (see fig. 68).[174] Pierio also had a personal relationship with Raphael and has described an ancient sculpture among the latter's art. At the close of Book 47 [fol. 352^{v}] Valeriano says:

> And we have seen in Rome a marble statue of the aged Philemon by Raphael of Urbino which in one hand holds a heavy book and in the

172 Fol. 229. Valeriano's interpretation is that the three heads represent past, present and future but the more common interpretation of the trope is as a symbol of Prudence which Valeriano also provides (Book 16, fol. 118^{r}). The most famous illustration of this symbol is the painting by Titian of the *Allegory of Prudence* in the National Gallery in London. There are various interpretations of the painting of which the most celebrated is that by Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl, "A Late-Antique Religious Symbol in Works by Holbein and Titian," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, XLIX (1926), p. 177.

173 Horapollo (II, 83) has the she-bear licking her cubs into shape.

174 This motif goes back at least to the *Natural History* of Pliny.

> other there is displayed a receipt for the price of the text. For Philemon's greed for the purchase of his works we have spoken elsewhere (that is Book 35 fol. 255^{v}).

The *Hieroglyphica* of Pierio Valeriano had an extraordinary reputation and appeared in a series of new editions not only in Italy but also in France, Germany, and Switzerland, proliferating through supplements and appendices by other humanists who followed his lead enthusiastically although often laboriously and artificially with episodes of the individual hieroglyphic art which I will address separately later. In the meantime we must first devote ourselves to the popular extension of the art, which, not without making use of the fruitful ideas of the ground-breaking work of Valeriano, was qualified and further widened in the field of emblematics. This also had originated in Italy but, extending far beyond the interpretation of individual hieroglyphs, came to dominate the whole of Europe.

Excursus 1: On the Images in the Gran Chiostro of San Giustina and those in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*

This Excursus summarizes the relationship between those illustrations in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* which are similar to images in the Gran Chiostro of San Giustina and to which scattered references are made by Volkmann. It also attempts to answer the question raised by Dorez, Giehlow, Volkmann and other commentators as to whether the one was derived from the other or vice versa.

San Giustina in Padua with its eight Byzantine cupolas, ancient origins and imposing size is one of the great churches of Christendom; as well as its many other treasures it houses what is said to be the tomb of St. Luke the Evangelist himself. Adjoining the Basilica are a series of cloisters which formed part of the Benedictine abbey attached to the Basilica and which flourished until 1797 when it was finally closed by Napoleon as part of his program of secularization of the monasteries. We are concerned with the walls of one of the cloisters of the Abbey, the Gran Chiostro, which was frescoed with scenes from the life of St. Benedict over a long period beginning in the early 1490s. The work was begun by the artist Bernardino Parenzano (or Parentino) but he died after completing only about twelve of the forty-nine arcades of the cloister wall and it was another forty years before a second artist, Girolamo di Santo, was engaged to finish the work. Each of the frescoed bays or arcades was divided into three principal sections: the central subject, which was a scene from the life of St. Benedict, beneath this there was a decorated frieze and adjoining the whole a pilaster painted in grisaille separating one arcade from the next.

After the Abbey was closed, it was used as a military barracks and the cloister itself as a rifle range and this, not surprisingly, completed the destruction of the paintings which were already damaged by the weather in the open-air arcades. Some of the Parenzano frescos were removed and restored but the remainder are now completely lost other than a few patches so badly damaged that they cannot now be related to any of the subsequent prints or descriptions. Fortunately, before their final destruction and disappearance, details of the frescos were recorded in two different media both of which have survived. The first is the manuscript entitled the *Elucidario* from the first years of the seventeenth century written by Girolamo da Potenza which gives a detailed description of all the frescoes including the pilasters. The second is a series of engravings by Francesco Mengardi from the late eighteenth century, which depicts only the pilasters. For an unknown reason,[175] Mengardi only reproduced thirty-three of the forty-seven pilasters on eleven plates, two half-pages of which are illustrated in figures 18 and 19 of the present text.[176] In full, Mengardi's prints depict five to six figures on each of the pilasters thus totaling approximately two hundred separate images. It can be seen from the illustrations that some of these figures are what are called *grotesques* but others are recognizable images the origins of most of which are identifiable. The discovery of the grotesques in Nero's *Domus Aurea* in Rome, the source of the genre, is dated to the early 1480s and after this discovery the fashion of using these as decorative elements spread rapidly among the great buildings of Italy.[177]

Approximately twelve of the images on the pilasters depicted by Mengardi are found in the *Hypnerotomachia*, as are approximately seventeen references to the central scenes of the arcades. On a frieze of one of the arcades in the Cloister are shown the implements from the ambone or frieze of San Lorenzo fuori le mura which are also employed by Colonna in one of his "hieroglyphic" texts. (fig. 5)

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175 The plates each show three pilasters. It has been assumed that Mengardi for an unknown reason chose not to reproduce the missing pilasters but the fact that these are missing in groups of three suggests that it is the plates which have been lost.

176 Among the minor complications in identifying the origin of the motifs on the pilasters are that some reproductions of Mengardi's prints are cut in two horizontally (as in figures 18 and 19.) and that different authorities have different numbering systems for the prints. A complete set of the prints is available in the Civic Library of Padua under call numbers 5762–5773. Here, confusion is compounded because one of these numbers, 5768, does not exist but according to the Library is a cataloging error. Mengardi also published engravings of some of the central scenes of the arcades.

177 See N. Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance*, London: Warburg Inst., 1969. Her illustrations nos. 80 and 81 show pilasters by Ghirlandaio and Piccolomini from the 1480s which are almost indistinguishable from those in the Gran Chiostro.

FIGURE 20 *The Gran Chiostro, S. Giustina, Padua. The Editor on the right.*

As we have noted, the *Hypnerotomachia* was published by Aldus in December 1499 and was being revised up to the last moment. Among all its other special features, the book is unique as being the first ever printed where the text flows round the illustrations.[178] The preparation and printing of early book illustrations was a long process involving several different stages: first there might be a sketch or description by the author, then a reproduction by an artist which in turn would be adjusted to the appropriate size by a miniaturist who drew directly on to the wood-block, next came the cutting of the blocks by a wood carver (the *tagliadoro*) and finally the printing. But in the case of the *Hypnerotomachia* the type could not be set until the blocks had been cut which means that these latter were prepared well in advance of the setting of the type. But even given the long time-scale of this process, it seems very unlikely that these images were drawn so far ahead that they preceded the first stage of the painting of the Gran Chiostro which as I have said was supposedly begun in about 1490.[179]

178 Some might give credit for this to the *Nuremberg Chronicle* published in 1493 but in this case predefined spaces were left in the text for illustrations which had to be accommodated in those spaces.

179 A detailed discussion of the dating of the painting of the first phase of the frescos is given in Giehlow (2015) p. 134 nt. 53; the consensus is that this occurred in the first half of the 1490s. The discovery of the grotesques in the Domus Aurea in Rome, the origin of the

In the Introduction to the *Elucidario* we are told that while he lived Parenzano painted ten of the arcades although this does not accord with what is said in the text where a detailed examination reveals a more likely figure of twelve.[180] All the remaining arcades were painted by di Santo.

From a comparison of the Mengardi prints, the *Elucidario* and the *Hypnerotomachia*, it can be confirmed that none of the images in the Cloister which coincide with those in the *Hypnerotomachia,* either from the pilasters or the central scenes, come from the frescos for which Parenzano was responsible. The latter apparently got his inspiration principally from the contemporary obsession with the grotesques of the Domus Aurea. All the references to the *Hypnerotomachia* are in the paintings by di Santo; he made use of multiple sources for his images but, in particular, in the words of Bragaglia (p. 174), he "pillaged" the work of Colonna.

Finally, there is the common use in both works of the motifs from the ambone[181] of San Giovanni fuori le mura, originally the frieze of a Roman Temple,[182] which are illustrated on fol. 6^{v} and fol. 7^{v} in the *Hypnerotomachia*. However, again there is confusion in the *Elucidario* and thus in the Gran Chiostro as to which arcade they were depicted in. The *Elucidario* includes them in the description for the second arcade (not counting the initial unnumbered fresco, the Triumph of the Church) but an illustration (or possibly the original) of the fresco for the whole arcade has come to light and has been published by Fiocco[183] who describes it as Arcade 3 entitled *St. Benedict at School.* Either way it is one of the paintings by Parenzano so it could not have been copied from the *Hypnerotomachia* although we know that employing these sacrificial implements as symbolic motifs during the Renaissance was a common practice; we see them for instance in Mantegna's great picture, the Triumph of Caesar (fig. 22) now in Hampton Court. Billanovich confirms that it is likely that these motifs were copied independently by both artists when they visited Rome or possibly that they themselves

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genre, is dated to the early 1480s and the fashion of using these as decorative elements spread very quickly.

180 The *Elucidario* numbers the arcades by pilaster or column number. Thus Parenzano was responsible for numbers 1–9 inclusive on the north side (da Potenza uses the rather rare Latin/Italian word *aquilinaro* meaning northerly; unfamiliarity with this word has resulted in a mistranslation by some commentators) of the cloister plus number 47 which is assumed to be the last arcade on the adjoining wall, plus the initial unnumbered arcade describing the opening image, the Triumph of the Church, and one more unnumbered arcade the description of which which is inserted by da Potenza between numbers 9 and 10 and which is stated to be Parenzano's last work. Perhaps this was in the corner of the cloister and thus does not have a pilaster.

181 For a description of the ambone see p. 34 nt. 77. above.

182 See Excursus 3 for a full discussion of these motifs and their origin.

183 Fiocco, "Un affresco di Bernardo Parenzano," *Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e de turismo—Bolletino d'Arte*, nd.

FIGURE 21 *A Fresco by Bernardo Parenzano from the Gran Chiostro. St. Benedict in School.*

copied the work of intermediate artists.[184] She also lists the numerous artists who did in fact make such drawings (p. 275).

184 For further discussion, see M. P. Billanovich, "Una Miniera di Epigrafi e di Antichita Il Chiostro Maggiore di S. Giustina a Padua," *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 12 (1969), pp. 197–292, particularly pp. 260–276.

CHAPTER 2

Emblematics and Its Derivatives: Imprese and Devices

It is a very remarkable coincidence that Pierio Valeriano, who saw himself as a radical poet, sought his life's work in an almost inexhaustible collection of material from the field of hieroglyphics, while by contrast, it remained reserved for an academic, a jurist, to cast these ordinary but interesting questions into the lighter and more fluid form of poetry and thereby to extend them into a mode of expression with a broader and more practical appeal.

Andrea Alciato[1] (1492–1550), whose name remains inseparably associated with the term emblematics, started his career in Milan. He studied one year in Bologna and his idea to put his hieroglyphic concepts into verse must have come from the influence of Fasanini[2] since the latter had explicitly shown this was one of the objectives of his *Horapollo* translation. Alciato himself pointed out the origin of his *Emblemata* in his text *On the meaning of words*,[3] when he writes:

1 It is now recognized that the proper Italian spelling of the name is Alciato. Alciati is the genitive singular of the Latin version, Alciatus. Thus "the little book of Alciato" in Latin would be *Libellus Alciati*.

2 Thus Fasanini in the introduction to his translation (above p. 37) indicates that the maxims of the Horapollo could be added to decorative motifs in almost the same words as are suggested for Alciato's emblems (see Excursus 2 p. 123 for further discussion). No mention is made by either author about the possibility of using pictures and Alciato was not expecting to use pictures in his first edition; they were added by the publisher. This idea, that emblems were elements which could be added to decoration, may explain why Alciato suggested that they were to be called emblems, that is, objects which were inserted or inlaid into other material.

3 *De verborum significatione*, Lyons: Gryphius, 1530—On Alciato, see Henry Green, *Andrea Alciati and his books of Emblems*, London: Trübner, 1871 as well as the same, *Andreae Alciati Emblematum fons quatuor* [Four Fountains of Alciato] London: Trübner, 1870 and *Andreae Alciati Emblematum flumen abundans* [the full stream], London: Trübner, 1871, with a reproduction of the most important edition and single sheets leaves from other editions from 1531 to 1551 (**v**). The importance of Volkmann's present text is as the earliest work of scholarship on the origins and history of emblem and device after those of Henry Green. The present work is thus is a pioneering step towards the extraordinary interest in the topic in the second half of the twentieth century which is reflected in the present Bibliography and the on-line resources given in the Bibliography. Alciato's work is not to be confused with the *De verborum significatu* (sometimes also called the *De Verborum significatione*) by Sextus Pomponius

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> Words signify, ideas are signified. Although at times things likewise signify, as for example the hieroglyphs in the writings of Horus and Chaeremon, a motif we have also used in a little book entitled Emblemata.

In addition to the Horapollo, Alciato knew of the hieroglyphics of Colonna, which was then, as I have mentioned several times, believed to go back to Chaeremon.[4] And in a letter of 1521 to the book-dealer Francesco Calvi he says about his work:

> with each epigram I describe something from history or nature so as to signify something elegant, from whence painters, goldsmiths and founders can make the sort of things we call badges and fasten to hats or which we call trademarks. Like the anchor of Aldus, the dove of Froben or the elephant of Calvus which is so long in labor and gives birth to nothing.

That he names the hieroglyphical printer's marks of Aldus and of Froben from Basel, appears to point to a knowledge of the *Adages* of Erasmus, who also included these things in his work. Similarly the elephant of Calvi also goes back to one of the adages of Erasmus. The reference in the letter is a recurring joke on the sedate slowness of Calvi himself[5] as a result of which Alciato finally made use of other publishers.[6] The imperial councilor, Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547) in Augsburg, who was first commemorated in Henry Steiner's 1531 edition from Augsburg, and who had bought a manuscript of the *Horapollo*

Festus a work of which only part has survived. The original of this work was a forty book Latin dictionary by Verrius Flaccus (first century CE) adapted by Festus to twenty books (second century CE) and further epitomized into ten books by Paul the Deacon in the eighth century. This latter was first printed by Johann von Köln in 1474.

4 For Chaeremon see p. 43 nt. 94.

5 Calvi was a friend of long-standing of Alciato and a printer. Alciato frequently complained in his letters about the slowness of Calvi and for this reason he gave the printing of the treatise *De verborum significatione* to Gryphius in Lyon.

6 Alciato's letters to Calvi are published in Marquardi Gudii, *Letters etc.* Lyons 1711 p. 73 ff (**v**). Marquard Gude (1635–1689) had an important collection of medieval manuscripts which thanks to the efforts of Leibniz himself has remained intact and now is in the Herzog August Bibliothek, Wölfenbuttel (HAB). An earlier edition of the letters (1697) is on-line at: https://books.google.com/books?id=pWITAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA1&lpg=PA1&dq=marquardt+Gude&source=bl&ots=YWtphnyCLy&sig=q32uMm1ZgHTBoGD6Csw8mZzOps&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwigdbBga3XAhVG_4MKHePFACA4ChDoAQgnMAA#v=onepage&q=marquardt%20Gude&f=false (11/17/17).

The correspondence between Alciato and Calvi starts at p. 75.

in Greece[7] the translation of which by Bernardinus Trebatius appeared in Augsburg in 1515 and was dedicated to him, also played an important part in the story. Thus in this way there appeared multiple relationships over the Alps for which the *Horapollo* was again the connecting link. After all it is exactly in the spirit of the "hieroglyphic writing" of Valeriano when Alciato in the verse dedication to Peutinger [in the *Emblemata*] says:

> We in these festive hours create these Emblems,
> figures wrought by famous artists hands
> To fix badges on clothes or shields on caps
> Or write with silent signs …

As shown in the last line, this coincides absolutely with the practical applications which the humanists also wished to give to their hieroglyphic studies. On the other hand, it also goes back to Fasanini and to what Alciato in the introduction declared as the purpose of the emblems:

> So this is its application and utility: that, if anyone wishes to make some addition to a bare object or ornament, to unadorned speech or to naked argument he would have in this little book (just as in a well-stocked cabinet) whatever he might wish to write on the walls of his house, the windows, drapes, ceilings, pictures, vases, sculptures, signet rings, clothes, tables, bedsteads, arms, swords and in short on all the household appliances; and this surely for the purpose that around the exterior of those things serving ones daily needs, there would verbal and visual reminders.

This word emblem that has gained such a firmly defined and absolutely standard meaning. Alciato had taken from a work of jurisprudence, the *Annotations to the Pandects*, by the Frenchman, Budaeus (Guillaume Budé). There it means first, mosaic work, in which sense by the way, using the word "*emblemature*", it had already been foreshadowed in the *Hypnerotomachia* (fol. e5^{v} and fol. n), then, after Cicero, removable pieces on vases and, lastly, excerpts from decorative speech. Wolfgang Hunger who translated the Latin distichs of the

7 This is of course an error by Volkmann since the Horapollo manuscript was acquired by Buondelmonti in the island of Andros in 1419. The manuscript which is now in the Laurenziana Library under shelf mark Plut. 69.27 has Buondelmonti's inscription and signature at the end.

Emblemata into German verse (Paris 1542),[8] adopts the title quite literally as "the Book of Trifles" and he did not intend by this any broader meaning.

Alciato also expressed a practical interest in the symbolic decoration of clothes and implements.[9] He had, by the way, lived for some time in France, so quite apart from his interest in the hieroglyphics of the Italians he was engaged with that of the French, who particularly from the time of the siege of Milan by the army of Louis XII (1499), had exposed to the Italians their fashion of so-called "Imprese." Paulo Giovio writes about this in his *Dialog dell 'Imprese*:

> But during this time after the arrival of King Charles VIII and Louis XII in Italy, everyone who belonged to the military sought to decorate themselves with beautiful and splendid imprese in imitation of the French officers.[10]

Louis XII himself at Genoa wore golden robes decorated with a "king of bees" surrounded by worker bees and the motto: "The king, whom we obey, does not need a sting," a symbol which doubtless derives from the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo (1,62) and after him is found in Valeriano [Book 26, fol. 185]. This fusion of the hieroglyphic with the original French custom of personal badges and mottoes appears to me to be an important source of emblematics since, from the time of Alciato, it broadened out from Italy over the whole of Europe.

A first collection of Emblemata had already been completed in 1521 and was handwritten for Ambrosio Visconti but not printed.[11] Over the passage of time, Alciato composed new epigrams and these, after the Steyner edition of 1531 and numerous successive new editions, slowly increased in number. The work enjoyed such an extraordinary success that it subsequently appeared

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8 Hunger (1511–1555) was a lawyer from Bourges. By distichs Volkmann means the epigrams not just the mottos. "Trifles" is the translation of the German "verschroten" which literally means "coarse" and Hunger's characterization is reinforced by a reference he makes to a couplet of Martial in his introduction: *Turpe est difficiles habere nugas/et stultus labor est ineptiarum.* [It is shameful to engage in difficult trifles and stupid work for the foolish].

9 It is not known to me that Alciato had an interest in the symbolic meaning of clothes although there were several Renaissance publications which did demonstrate such an interest. The first of these is Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* which discusses the display of national identity through clothes or *foggie* in Italian as well as Cesare Vecellio's *Habiti del mondo* of 1590 and 1598. Luca Contile in his *Ragionamento di Luca Contile sopra la proprietà della imprese*, Pavia: 1574, devotes a chapter to *Foggie* where he describes how clothes not only reveal identity but can act as a symbol of concealment of the underlying reality.

10 See the Preface to the present work for a description of the origin of the Device.

11 See Excursus 2 p. 123.

in about 150 editions, among them French and German ones. Each page contained a motto, dedicated to a friend or patron,[12] a picture and an epigram, the number of which in the first edition had reached the total of 104. It is obvious that Alciato has frequently used Fasanini, from whom he took phrases verbatim; he also borrows from Crinitus and Poliziano and similarly from Caelius Rhodiginus and the *Adages* of Erasmus. As in Plutarch, he also uses the whole of antique symbolism as a basis for understanding Egyptian hieroglyphs and interprets the attributes of statues in this sense, as Valeriano also did. Then he even makes use of the *Greek Anthology* for the same purpose, a part of which he translates literally and which for him results in a single emblem in which the meaning of the image alone could certainly not be fully understood without the explanatory text. He also borrows historical and mystical-allegorical material from Pausanias and embellishes the ancient animal fables freely. For himself he selects an emblem that he originally created for his own professor [Giasone del Maino (1435–1519)] in Pavia: the caduceus with two cornucopia and his motto: *Virtuti fortuna comes* (see below fig. 106). It is also engraved on his tombstone and his medal.

FIGURE 33
Jörg Breu, Woodcut from Alciato. Emblemata. Augsburg 1531. The prince striving for the safety of his subjects.

FIGURE 34
Jörg Breu, Woodcut from Alciato. Emblemata. Augsburg 1531. Poverty prevents the greatest minds from moving forwards.

12 Unlike the *Hieroglyphica* of Valeriano which has individual dedications to each book and some other emblems books such as the *Emblemata partim ethica et physica* by Nicolas Reusner, this is not the case in the editions of Alciato I have seen.

A complete discussion of the whole work is not possible here and one can only point out a few examples, how their pictorial statements relate to earlier hieroglyphs and how they signify or prophesy in a certain way, and how on the other hand they create new symbols from the same motif which again served as suggestions and patterns for posterity. The Steyner edition, Augsburg 1531, was illustrated by Jörg Breu quite well but somewhat crudely with woodcuts of a simple linear type.[13] Alciato did not employ the well-known motif of the anchor and dolphin in the same sense as Aldus and Erasmus nor as in the version adopted by Colonna (fig. 6) for a representation of *Festina tarde* [Hurry, slowly].[14] This motif is also represented according to the suggestion of Erasmus in many instances by an arrow and a fish, the Remora (Schiffshalter), which supposedly slows the speed of a ship.[15] In two separate hieroglyphs from the *Hypnerotomachia* (figs. 13 and 14) it stands for *firma* [strong] and *incolumnitas* [safety][16] so Alciato's meaning is this: "for the prince who cares for the safety of his subjects." Also the artist bases the image not so much on the coin of Titus nor the mark of Aldus but rather depicts a sloping anchor on which a dolphin is wound round one of the hooks of the anchor rather than the shaft. One of Colonna's hieroglyphs in which a half sitting, half rising woman holds in one hand a bird and in the other a tortoise (fig. 8) is also used by Alciato in a similar but freer manner. The basic idea is of opposites resisting power; one pulls away and the other holds fast to the ground and this for Alciato is wittily signified in the phrase: "Poverty restricts the greatest minds from moving forwards" by which he certainly refers to his own situation. The accompanying verse could be translated something like:

> My right hand holds a stone as the bird lifts the left
> Feathers lift me as the heavy weight drags me down.
> Ah, my spirit could fly to the highest peak
> If envious poverty did not drag me to the ground.

Jörg Breu [the illustrator of the first edition of the *Emblemata*] depicts a man with a cloak and a beret, who in one hand has a pair of wings and in the other

13 As stated earlier Alciato did not authorize the images in the first edition but they have a simplicity and universality which no doubt added to the popularity of the book.

14 *Tarde* is a synonym for *lente* and was occasionally used in this context, for instance in the printer's mark of Antoine Tardif—a pun on the latter's name.

15 The Remora is a real fish which can attach itself to small boats. The suggestion that it delays ships goes back at least to Pliny.

16 See Giehlow (2015), p. 121 for further discussion of this combination.

holds a stone; the half-seated position absolutely reminds one of the woodcut in the *Hypnerotomachia*.

This means that the pictures by the artist of the Augsburg edition did not please the author very much and must have been the reason for a new edition which already by 1534 appeared in Paris from the press of Christian Wechel and which was printed with technically more finely prepared woodcuts. For comparison, the same emblems are given here as in the first edition. The anchor and the dolphin now are shown in the same way as Aldus' mark (see fig. 72) due no doubt to the choice of the author as a result of which the contrast in the meaning becomes more obvious; and in the place of the man with winged hand and the stone is given a naked putto, a depiction which subsequently was praised and imitated.

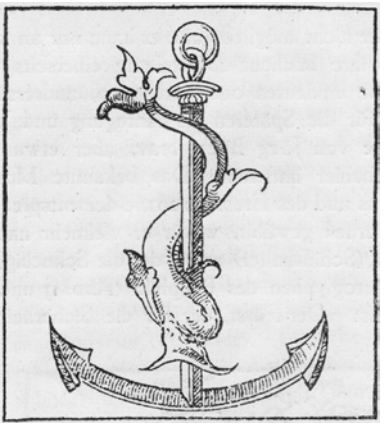

FIGURE 35
Alciato Emblemata. Paris 1534. The prince striving for the safety of his subjects.

FIGURE 36
Alciato Emblemata. Paris 1534. Poverty restricts the greatest minds.

FIGURE 37
Alciato Emblemata. Lyon 1550. Live soberly; do not believe easily.

FIGURE 38
Alciato Emblemata. Lyon 1550. Show gratitude.

On the other hand illustrations which are more cultured stylistically appeared in an edition of 1550 from Bonhomme and the title-page of which already bore a hieroglyphic mark—the crane with a stone in its claw. There had already been in the earlier woodcuts emblems which were placed freely and decoratively in a small landscape and this idea was now fully developed as can be seen for example in the emblem of an eye displayed on a hand above a rocky outcrop. The motif was later picked up many times (see for instance fig. 53); it signifies: "Live moderately and do not think frivolous things." Right out of the hieroglyphic context comes the stork as a symbol of gratitude and particularly of parental love, as this bird carries and feeds its ever feebler elder on its back (Horapollo II, 58; Pierio Valeriano 124 ff.).

The connection with medieval animal symbolism is here also displayed since the later illustrated editions of the *Physiologus* of Epiphanius,[17] Rome 1587 and Antwerp 1588, also show a similar picture. Also a rich landscape is depicted here quite relevant to the individual emblem so that the whole makes up a single composition. Immediately one thinks of the picture from Valeriano of the cicada on the guitar with the meaning *Musicam diis curae esse* [The gods care for music][18] (see fig. 30); and the unnatural connection of the eel and the viper, upon which is founded a claim for the reverence of marriage and which is found in a French edition of the *Horapollo* (Paris 1551, Jacques Kerver), (see fig. 67) further evidence again of the links which run back and forth between hieroglyph and emblem.

The extraordinary effect of the extremely well-timed work of Alciato shows itself not only in the multiple practical uses of his symbols, which from time to time we shall have the opportunity to observe[19] but also in the great

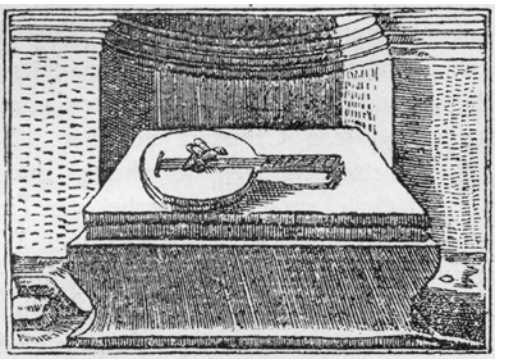

FIGURE 39
Alciato Emblemata. Lyon 1550. Music is the delight of the gods.

17 Illustrated in H. Green *Shakespeare and the Emblem writers* London: 1870 p. 28 (v). The *Physiologus* or Naturalist written very early in the Christian era (2nd–4th centuries) contained descriptions of animals each with their moral significance. It was one of the most widely circulated books of the early Middle Ages supposedly translated into almost every language in Europe. It was the forerunner of the Bestiary which had a larger complement of animals. The recension of the *Physiologus* by Epiphanius was one of the most popular; the 1587 Rome edition is the *editio princeps.* Green takes his illustrations from the 1588 edition.

18 This goes back to the story of Phoebus who was competing in a lyre competition when one of the strings in his instrument broke but the sound of a cicada compensated for the damaged string.

19 In particular emblems were used many times for *stammbooks* and strongly influenced the origin of this fashion (v). *Stammbooks* or albums were often used as gifts by their friends to worthy individuals. Each friend would compose an emblem on a single page of the book to express his thanks or appreciation.

FIGURE 40
Alciato Emblemata. Lyon 1550. Reverence is needed in matrimony.

quantity of similar collections which followed on from his so that he really can be treated as the founder of a new literary genre. It is impossible to give even a rough overview of this almost endless flood of new versions of the emblem book and equally it is hardly viable to attempt a broader rather than a deeper examination of the field which would only accomplish a dilution of the model. Henry Green, in so far as it is possible for just one man without delving too deeply into the subject, has sought to deal with the outline of the material in his book named above and it is possible to figure out the extent of it all from the fact he alone listed 3,000 titles of emblematic works of which many hundreds were to be found in English libraries. He also gives a list of the artists who sketched the emblems.[20] Here it is naturally only possible to name a few of the most important and representative examples and by this means to show how far the recorded tradition of the hieroglyph was perpetuated further and differentiated by Alciato.

20 Some literary editions are also found in C. B. Stark, *Archeologie der Kunst*, Leipzig: 1880 p. 107 (v). But Stark is not well-informed; he says that the first emblem book was published by Sambucus in 1564 and the first published edition of Alciato was that of 1580 with the commentary of Minos. It is now estimated that the total number of emblem books, including different editions of the same book, is at least 6,500. See p. IX nt. 11. Henry Green's contribution to the study of emblems, devices and other books of the symbolic species has been underestimated. His four books on the subject (see Bibliography) which give huge amounts of information on the field deserve to be more widely read.

Achille Bocchi, a friend of Pierio Valeriano, under the title *Symbolicarum quaestionum libri V*, Bologna 1555, published a series of historical-mythical emblems in Latin verse, which were illustrated with large copper plates by Giulio Bonasone.[21] These latter however provide little interest for us. Much more noteworthy is a full page woodcut at the beginning of the book which could serve as the motto for the whole. This shows a *bucranium* [ox-skull] with a laurel wreath and two beribboned hoes hanging from it, the meaning of which can be deciphered from the motto: *Victoria ex labore honesta et utilis* [Success comes from honest and useful work]. At first glance there appears to be a similarity with the opening hieroglyph in the *Hypnerotomachia* fol. c1^{v} (fig. 4), which equally shows a bull's skull with two beribboned hoes hanging from it and also signifies "work." This is a direct borrowing from the *Hypnerotomachia*, and the use of the laurel wreath for Victory is only an extension of Colonna's original idea as is the motto in a complete sentence given above.

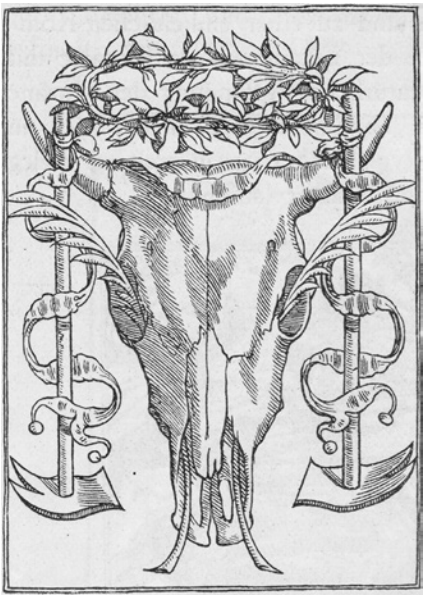

FIGURE 41
Achille Bocchi, Symbolicae Questiones. Woodcut after Hypnerotomachia (*reduced*).

21 Two excellent modern commentaries on the *Symbolicarum Questionum* are E. S. Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, Cambridge U. P. 1993 and A. Rolet (ed.) *Les Questions Symboliques d'Achille Bocchi*, Presses Universitaires François-Rabelais, 2015.

Now Johannes Sambucus Tirnavensis Pannonius (from Tyrnau in Hungary) takes us beyond Italy.[22] He was a learned medical doctor and court historian to the Emperors Maximilian II and Rudolf II. He lived for a long time in Ghent and died in Vienna. His *Emblemata cum aliquot nummis antique operis*—the title demonstrates once again the connection with numismatics—appeared in 1564 in Antwerp from Plantin and includes woodcuts by Anton Silvius, Hubert Goltzius, and Jean Croissart.[23] The emblems include examples partly from poetry, mythology and daily life in which animals and plants play a special role but among which heraldic references are also interspersed. His introduction is particularly instructive since there he gives the definitions of the concept of both an emblem and a symbol; he provides the hidden sense and the various interpretations, and indicates that he felt that the hieroglyphs on which they were based were already becoming outdated:

> What an emblem is, cannot be defined precisely, for each sentence, each story, each dull fable, which represent these things in outline, or each remark of a Hero memorialized in an epigram, can be used as an emblem. And who has not represented in this way the thoughts of poets, fables, all these examples from history, proverbs and maxims. If I thus take a half cut grapevine for a lazy father, a gnat fighting an elephant for mad impudence, a brick that must be washed for fruitless work,[24] the oath of Curtius and the deed of Horatio for bravery, and whatever was also published by Valerius and others, without the interpretation being concealed or revealed, who would not wonder at or praise such a thing. In such a way my emblems were chosen and by implication should not be less than the dark secret script of the Egyptians and the ghost of Pythagoras.

It is already quite a characteristic of the baroque that it should contrast "obscurity" with "understanding." This comes from the proverb *Legt ihr's nicht aus, so legt was unter* [If you can't understand the sense then just make it up].[25]

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22 For a modern edition of and, commentary and notes on Sambucus' *Emblemata* see the dissertation by Arnaud Visser, *Joannes Sambucus and the Learned Image: The Use of the Emblem in Late-Renaissance Humanism*, Leiden: Brill, 2005.

23 The section on coins has forty-five entries and a dedication to Jean Grolier who also possessed a well-known collection of coins and medals.

24 Erasmus' *Adages* i.iv.48 cites Terence's *Phormio* for the origin of the metaphor.

25 This is a line from Goethe's *Zahme Xenien*, 2. *Xenien* derives from the *Xenia* of Martial, a book of his epigrams which were intended as thank-you letters or presents after a dinner party or other festivities. Zahme is the German for "tame" but in this context the title could perhaps better be translated as "Pleasant Gifts."

FIGURE 42
Joh. Sambucus. Emblemata. The distinction between physics and metaphysics (*unnumbered*).

For his whole art, and particularly for the natural scientist in him, there is a very significant emblem on page 74, *Physicae ac metaphysicae differentia*, [the difference between physics and metaphysics] which again contains a new free transformation of the motif from the *Hypnerotomachia*. In the center stands the figure of Diana of Ephesus as the goddess of nature, whose raised right hand is winged while the left holds a heraldic rose (as a symbol of organic nature). To her right there is a cloud-covered temple with an astrolabe on the gable, on the left a round temple with globe of the Earth on the dome. The accompanying verse reads in translation:

> This picture shows you the temple of the goddess.
> With her right hand she holds an airy goshawk
> But the other side is heavy with corruptible material.
> The Temple of the Vestas similarly signifies the Earth.

So this example shows clearly how the emblematic genre still flowed from the hieroglyphic and how at the same time it was often intermixed in the sense given by Valeriano with some kind of ancient material—Sambucus names among others Athenaeus, Philostratus and Pausanias as his sources as well as ancient coins and sculpture—and the result is quite self-evident and thus not quite able to avoid its origins.

Hadrianus Junius from Harlem was also a doctor, whose work of 1585, published also by Plantin and with a letter from Sambucus dedicated to the author, enjoyed great popularity and a wide circulation. With each emblem there is a verse as well as a prose commentary. The motifs are partly new and partly

have their origin from earlier works since the book quotes explicitly from the Horapollo and refers to other authors including Erasmus.[26] Plantin issued the work by the way together with the emblems of Alciato in the edition of Claude Mignault (Claudius Minos).[27] Hadrianus Junius was born Dutch, graduated in Bologna and also lived in France and England so that he rightly embodied the universality of the field. He also wrote a supplement to the *Adages* of Erasmus with the title *Adagiorum centuria octo et dimidia* [Eight and a half hundred Adages].[28] In this there can be found completely unchanged as Adage no. 32, the hieroglyph of moderated haste from the *Hypnerotomachia*; the subscription reads: *Celeritatem mora, et haec illam vicissim temperet* [Speed must temper slowness and in turn slowness temper speed] and as in Colonna the picture shows a sitting woman with a lifted left leg who has wings on her right hand and in her left holds a turtle. The explanatory verse reads:

> Quid scamno reses, obtendis testudinem at alas?
> Humum hinc premis vestigio, calce hinc caelum appetis?
> Temeriem cunctis adhibe, remoram injie: si sis
> Celer nimis, velocitate tempera moram.
>
> [Why are you sitting on a stool, holding out a tortoise and a pair of wings?
> Why do you press your footstep on the ground with one foot, and raise your ankle to the sky with the other?
> Apply moderation in all things, take your time; if you are
> too much in a hurry, mix speed and delay in due proportion.][29]

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26 Thus he takes for his no. 13: *Prudentia cum robore conjuncta*, which is suggested by Chil. III, cent. 9, no. 76 of Erasmus.

27 Mignault's commentary on the *Emblemata* was first introduced in the 1571 du Pré edition from Paris and thereafter appeared in many subsequent editions, each new edition having expanded essays on each emblem. In fact, these commentaries, contemporaneous with the early editions of Montaigne's *Essais*, together with the much earlier *Adages* of Erasmus, can be said to be the catalyst for the development of the essay format.

28 Published by Froben in 1558. There were actually 840 new entries most of which were of Greek origin. As Junius explains many more of the classics had been discovered and published since Erasmus' time and thus many more of these the sayings were to be found. See also for discussion, Dirk van Miert (ed.) *The Kaledoscopic Scholarship of Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575)*, Leiden: Brill, pp. 251–255.

29 Translation from Glasgow University emblem web-site: http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/emblem.php?id=FJUb032 (5/11/17).

FIGURE 43
Hadrianus Junius. Emblemata, no. 32.

One should point out here just how strongly the influence of this new genre spread over the countries of Europe after the middle of the sixteenth century. In France there could be named: Guillaume de la Perrière, *Le Theatre des bons Engins auquel sont contenus cent emblems*, [The Theater of Fine Devices in which are contained one hundred emblems][30] Paris: 1539; Gilles Corozet, *Hecatomgraphie*, Paris: 1540 (Proverbs, sentences and so on with pictures);[31] a French translation of Alciato by Bartholomé Aneau, Paris, 1549 which was dedicated to an English earl;[32] Georgette de Montenay, *Cent Emblèmes chrestiens* [One hundred Christian emblems] (Emblemata Christiana), Zurich: 1584, Chr. Froschauer, [subtitled] *Spitzfindige religiöse Allegorien mit lateinischen und französischen Versen sowie 100 Kupferstichen von Woeriot* [Subtle religious allegories with Latin and French verses as well as 100 copper plates by Woeiriot],[33] etc. Then from England there was: Geffrey Whitney,[34] *A Choice of Emblemes, englished and moralized*, Leyden 1586, mostly taken from Alciato, from whom

30 Thus it was translated into English by Thomas Combe in 1593.

31 Deriving from the Greek word for one hundred, that is, *hekaton*.

32 Actually Barthélémy Aneau who also wrote his own emblem book, *Picta Poesis*, Lyon: Bonhommme, 1552.

33 This was first published in 1571; it was the first emblem book written by a woman and the first specifically Protestant emblem book. The 1584 edition was the second. This is believed also to be the first emblem book to have copper plate engravings. Much of the modern research on de Mornay has been done by Alison Adams; see the bibliography on the Glasgow Emblem Website at http://www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/french/books.php?id=FMOb (11/17/2017).

34 Now normally spelled Geoffrey but this was the correct spelling at the time.

he borrows eighty-six emblems and Willet, *Sacrorum Emblematum centuria una*, London: 1598.[35]

The emblems of Alciato were next circulated throughout Germany through translations, of which that of the Ingolstadt professor, Wolfgang Hunger of Paris 1542, has already been mentioned. He translated the Latin distichs into German verse and says he had read the *Emblemata* for breakfast or dinner for entertainment. Another German translator Jeremias Held in Nördlingen (Frankfurt am Main 1566) proposed that these symbols were particularly models for painters, goldsmiths, embroiderers and sculptors just as Alciato himself had done.

Of the German successors to Alciato we must refer to the jurist Nicolas Reusner, whose *Emblemata partim ethica et phsica partim vero historica et hieroglyphica* [Emblems partly ethical and physical and indeed partly historical and hieroglyphical] appeared in Frankfurt am Main in 1581 published by Johannes Feyerbend (sic) with cuts by Virgil Solis.[36] The collection is a panegyric drawn from Sambucus, to whom also one emblem (book II, no. 3: Crocodile) is dedicated. The contents derive from mythological and biblical material and depend as the title says, directly on hieroglyphs, so for example I, 15 [Art is the conqueror of nature],[37] showing Amor on a cart pulled by a lion, after Valeriano; II, 15: the storks also are from Valeriano as well as from Alciato; II, 18 an elephant with a trophy;[38] II, 27 a dead lion with hares: *Cum laris luctari*

35 Actually published in 1592. See P. M. Daly and P. Valeri-Tomaszuk, "Andrew Willet, England's First Religious Emblem Writer," *Renaissance and Reformation / Renaissance et Réforme* New Series / Nouvelle Série, 10, 2 (May/mai 1986), pp. 181–200.

36 The publisher and printer are given in the book as *Impressum ... per Ioannem Feyerabendt, Impensis Sigismundi Feyerabendii.* Thus the usual modern spelling is *Feyerabendt.*

37 This phrase and discussion goes back at least to Aristotle who said that art is superior to nature since art could and should express the essence of things as well as the literal reality. A convenient summary of the different points of view over the centuries is contained in H. H. Bawden, "Art and Nature," *The Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods*. 7.19 (Sep. 1910) pp. 521–526. Reusner's phraseology is derived from his earlier publication the *Polyanthea* of 1578 which purports to be an anthology of quotations gathered or composed by him. His animal symbolism is quite confused since in the earlier publication in the section titled *Leporarium* [Warren of hares!] p. 102, he quotes the first four lines of the emblem under the heading Pardus or Panther whereas in the emblem he illustrates lions pulling the chariot. See also below p. 101 for a similar emblem *natura potentior ars* [Art is more powerful than nature] which was Titian's motto.

38 Alciato's emblem 124 which is titled *In illaudata laudantes* [On those who praise what should not be praised] illustrates the triumph of Antiochus over the Galatians with the help of his elephants in 191 BCE.

nefas [you should not wrestle with phantoms];[39] similarly II, 31 a shield with a swan as in Alciato;[40] II, 34 *Cura sapientia crescit* [Wisdom grows with perseverance], a crane with a stone in its claw after Horapollo and for example Valeriano; III, 26, Narcissus and III, 28, Icarus again from Alciato.[41]

Another of Reusner's emblem books was published in 1587 in Strasbourg with cuts by Tobias Stimmer, entitled: *Aureolorum emblematum liber* [A book of golden emblems]. This has Latin proverbs with a Latin and German double text, although this sometimes consists of rather clumsy doggerel. As an example take no 127, the Frog. The motto read *Spes alterae vitae*, [Hope for another life] and the verses:

> Vere novo remeat, sub Brumam rana sepulta:
> Mortuus in vitam sic redit alter homo.
>
> [The frog lives in Lent, it dies in wintertime
> Woken from the dead, man lives through God.]

The quality of this edition is shown in the fact that many times the same woodcut is used for different subjects. At the end there are depicted the seasons and (without pictures) the arts, virtues, planets and so on, which later on became more and more customary. All the emblems are dedicated to individual personalities.

From Theodor de Bry, the Dutch engraver, who had settled in Frankfurt am Main there appeared in 1593 the *Emblemata Nobilitati et vulgo scitu digna* (Emblems both ingenious and of the nobility). As well as his expensive heraldic engravings there are also Latin proverbs with images and magnificent ornamental borders. The compositions are partly heraldic derived from the art of the *Imprese* and partly purely figurative and pictorial.

Similarly engraved by De Bry are the symbols in the *Emblematum liber* by Jean Jacques Boissard (Vesuntinus[42]), Frankfurt: 1593. They are odes or

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39 Volkman spells this incorrectly: it should be *larvis* and not *laris*. Alciato's emblem 154 uses this image and text and says that the origin is the Iliad and that these were the last words of Hector as he was dragged around Troy: "Tear me as you will, he said; when the lion is deprived of the light of life, even cowardly hares pluck his beard" but these words do not appear in the Iliad. However Erasmus, repeats them in *Adagia* 1.2.53.

40 Alciato's emblem 184. Cycnus (Latin for swan) was the King of Liguria who according to Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* 2.367ff was turned into a swan after the death of Phaethon.

41 It is not obvious why these examples out of all Reusner's emblems were chosen to represent his work.

42 From Besançon, France.

bombastic allegories with explanations in prose and verse but without any obvious relationship to the other emblems.

Very critical for the spread of the emblem tradition in Germany was the *Symbolorum et Emblematum Centuriae III* by the Nuremberg doctor Joachim Camerarius published by Paul Kaufmann in Nuremberg in 1590, 1595 and 1597, and these three were later followed by yet a fourth volume. The first part describes the plant world, the second four-legged animals, the third birds and insects, the fourth fish. The origin here is obviously Alciato and the hieroglyphs, and the genesis of the symbols was from an introduction by Claudius Minos directly from the Egyptian and the Chaldean with countless references from other ancient writers, particularly Clement of Alexandria and Horapollo. After that he discusses the Pythagorean symbols, the origin of heraldry and the sundry arts of symbol and emblem. The pictures in copper engravings are circular and over each is placed a motto and beneath a Latin distich. The evident dependence on the Italian images is obvious, so for example in the first part the cucumber is given as a symbol of transience after Alciato:[43] *Cito nata cito pereunt*. [Hastily won, hastily gone]. In the second part the mammals begin with the well-known picture of the elephants, which worship the moon (*Pura placet pietas*) [Pure piety is pleasing (to God)] and graze with lambs (*Mansuetis grandia cedunt*) [Size yields to meekness] as in Valeriano; also the unicorn which with its horn cleans a poisoned spring of snakes (*Nil inexplorato*) [Nothing without inspection], and the camel with a heavy load (*nil ultra vires*) [Nothing beyond its powers] are similarly frequently occurring motifs as also the beaver, the porcupine, the cynocephalus, the crocodile and others. The she-bear licking her as yet unformed cubs with the motto *Natura potentior ars*[44] [Art is more powerful than nature] is also said here to be Titian's motto. The bear sucking its claw is a symbol of great power through peace; about this we will have much more to say below (p. 275) (see fig. 117). In the section on birds [the third century of Camerarius emblems] we recognize the crane with a stone (*Ne improvise*) [Don't do anything without warning]) and also again the storks (*Acceptum reddimus officium*) [We must return the favor received],[45] and there are many other new and unique examples. In the fourth century, we can single out particularly no. 9, the dolphin and the anchor with the motto

43 I am not aware that Alciato uses the motif of the cucumber or has this motto.

44 See note 37 above.

45 The full quotation is *Aedificant alii nobis, nos posteritati; Sic prius acceptum reddimus officium*. [Others build for us and we for posterity. Thus we must return a favor received].

tutius ut posit figi.[46] Augustus and Titus are mentioned, and Aldus and Erasmus are attested but the meaning is taken from a good and clever king similar to Alciato.[47] With the picture of the snake which swallows its own tail *Finisque ab origine pendet* [The end joins the beginning], he quotes Horapollo from which this means time or year.[48] The combination of the viper and the eel with the motto *Sacri concussio lecti* [the clash of sacred literature] again brings to mind Horapollo and Alciato; from the latter he also derives the dolphin thrown onto the shore with the motto *Quem genuit, perdit* [whomever is born is lost] and similarly the motifs of crocodiles, salamanders, frogs etc. Again the work of Camerarius was much quoted and used later in Germany and with its industrious and systematic arrangement was contrary to what many were accustomed to.

Fasanini had recommended hieroglyphic symbols as valuable material for poets and painters, then Alciato was the first to contribute every genre of poetry to the field and the two of them alone promoted the symbolic mode in such a way that it became the basis for practical interpretation throughout all art. Now we can deal with its use in daily life in the so-called *Imprese* which, as already described above, led to a fusion of French traditions with Italian hieroglyphics and emblematics. The word *Impresa* [English = Device] comes originally from *imprendere*, to undertake something; it means therefore an undertaking or project. In fact, these personal symbols were chosen principally for certain specific enterprises or to bring luck or through which one could represent to a greater or lesser extent ones personal achievements or ambitions. In fact the device could depict everything relevant to the adventures of love and war, so that imprese of arms and imprese of love both played an important role. The secret writing of the hieroglyphs which must have seemed quite appropriate for the symbols that were selected were taken from the family arms in conjunction with a device that represented some personal idiosyncracy and some hidden meaning of the bearer's expression. The best equivalent today would be the *Ex Libris* and so quite like the demands of an author, it could be displayed in every possible circumstance, on walls, furniture, arms etc. or like small art works or decorated dress and hat badges. The great goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini mentions such works which he created around the year 1525

46 The full quotation is *tutius ut posit figi maris anchora fundo* [It is safer to drop an anchor on the sea-bed].

47 By this Volkmann refers to Alciato's emblem (fig. 35) which does not illustrate the traditional motto *Festina Lente* but "a prince concerned for the safety of his subjects".

48 This is the *Orouboulos* from Horapollo 1.1 which traditionally meant eternity but Horapollo uniquely defines it as time.

for young people; thus he writes the following in the sixth chapter of Goethe's translation: "moreover at this time I made gold medallions on which individuals or noblemen displayed some fancy or some undertaking and then put it onto coins. I made many of these and it was very hard work."[49] Furthermore in the eighth chapter he tells the story about [Girolamo] Mazzetti from Siena: "He ordered from me a gold medallion to wear on his hat. He was a man of lively disposition and asked that I should make him a figure of Hercules which grasped a lion by the throat." And for [Federico] Ginori[50] he prepared a similar miniature as a symbol of his love affaire, an atlas with a heavenly sphere; on the back was the motto: *Summum tulisse juvat* [To obtain the highest prize is gratifying]. It is not possible but also not necessary to enumerate here the details of, or to prove by examples, what was symbolized by such imprese. A whole series of them, whether as models or as a record of some historical or personal interest in their bearers, have already been reproduced graphically and complete analyses of the rules of the Imprese included with these collections were published individually mostly in dialogue form. The purpose of the following presentation is to provide a brief overview of this extensive field and, above all, to demonstrate with a few examples the connection between hieroglyphics and emblematics.

Like Alciato for the Emblemata, his friend Paolo Giovio (Jovius) must be regarded as the actual creator and then leading representative for works of devices. Born in Como in 1483, he studied—as a true representative of multifaceted humanism—philosophy in Padua, medicine in Pavia and later he became Bishop of Nocera; he died in Florence in 1552. His *Dialogo dell'imprese militari et amorose* [Dialog of military and amorous devices] which appeared in many editions (here taken from the 1574 Lyons edition by G. Rovillio) deals with the theme in the form of a dialog with Lodovico Domenicho who later brought out his own edition. This asks, and as such was of highest significance for the Renaissance, whether *imprese* had already also been used in antiquity, a question—as the best justification for contemporary needs!—Giovio affirmed and explained through examples, above all with the well-known symbol of Titus: the dolphin and the anchor with the motto *propera tarde* [a synonym for *festina lente*: hasten slowly]. Even so—and here the French influence can

49 Goethe's translation of the Life of Cellini originally published by Martello in Cologne in 1728 was the *Leben des Benvenuto Cellini*, Tübingen: Cottasche, 1803.

50 Cellini tells the story how Michelangelo himself recommended that he, Ginori, should commission Cellini, and Michelangelo even made a sketch of a model. Cellini however ignored the sketch and the result, according to him, was "indescribably beautiful."

be seen—the devices in the book included those of the French paladins[51] and the heroes of the Roundtable, but since the invasion of the French [in 1499] the custom of the device had also become popular there[52] (see above under Alciato[53]). Giovio proposes five conditions for a good impresa, which later were quoted and expanded many times [by other contemporary commentators], namely: 1. A correct relationship between body and soul, 2. not so difficult that a sibyl might be necessary to interpret it and also not so easy that an idiot could understand it; 3. beautiful to look at and bright with stars, sun, moon, fire, water, green trees, instruments, fantastic animals and birds; 4. human figures should not be included (a later much debated and contested requirement) and 5. The motto, the soul of it all, should be in a foreign language, short but pointed. Then in his book there followed the devices of a great number of well-known public figures, always accompanied by strong and clear woodcuts in horizontal ovals. We are immediately struck by the well-known motifs that were used.

On page nineteen there is the symbol which Cardinal Raffael Riario had had depicted "in a thousand places in his palazzo," a rudder with a globe and the motto *Hoc opus* [This work], a hint of authority and world domination, which undoubtedly stems from a hieroglyph of the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 10) and is also found [on the frieze] in Mantegna's *Triumphal Procession* (fig. 22). From Horapollo and Pierio Valeriano is derived the crane we have noted before with the stone in its claw and the motto *Officium natura docet* [Nature teaches duty

51 The Paladins were originally the twelve knights of Charlemagne's court, that is, French paladins but the word is now commonly used for medieval heroes in general including the Knights of the Round Table.

52 That is in Italy. This is according to Giovio (*Dialogo* p. 8, 1559 edition) but the device had also been popular in Italy earlier in the fifteenth century. Kristen Lippincott makes the plausible suggestion (although she admits there is no documentary evidence) that the origin of the *Imprese* was the *Emprise*, that part of the knightly vow to his seigneur by which the knight portrayed a symbol of his devotion and intentions. See the Preface to the present work and K. Lippincott "The Genesis and Significance of the Fifteenth-century Italian Impresa," *Chivalry in the Renaissance*, (ed. S. Anglo), Boydell, 1990, pp. 49–76.

53 In contemporary miniatures one often sees these decorative imprese of French knights; thus there is contained in one of the most beautiful manuscripts of the Vienna library (fifteenth century) the hero on his shield, his Arms, three roses, on his helmet and caparison his impresa, a flying heart, which also appears many times in later collections (v). The manuscript is Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS Cod. 2597 and the illustration referred to by Volkmann is on fol. 4r. There is a facsimile of the manuscript: René Gousset, M.-T., *Le Coeur d'amour épris : Reproduction integrale en fac-simile des miniatures du Codex Vindobonensis 2597 de la Bibliotheque nationale de Vienne*, Paris: Lebaud, 1981.

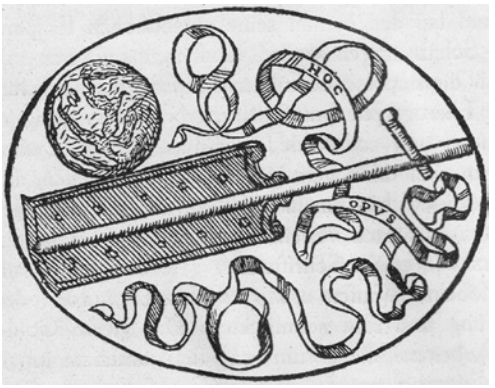

FIGURE 44
Paulo Giovio, Impresa of the Cardinal Raffael Riario.

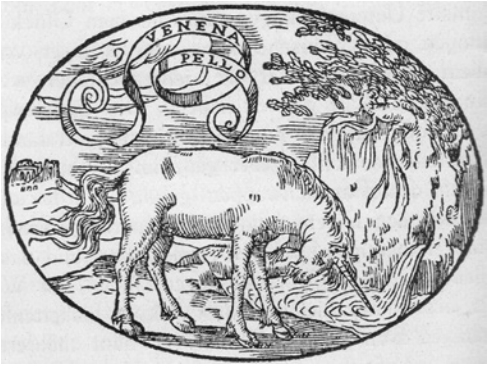

FIGURE 45
Pauo Giovio, Impresa of Bartolomeo d'Alviano.

(to God)] for the Duke of Amalfi. Giovio, in a bitter comment and for our understanding somewhat strangely, chose the mutilated beaver for his own symbol together with the word ἀναγκη [Necessity]. Captain Bartolomeo d'Alviano (p. 74) took the unicorn which cleansed the venom of the snake *venena pello* [I banish poisons], a symbol originating with the *Physiologus*. This also derives from Alciato and others and is found frequently in later Devices. There remains the well-known motifs of the porcupine of Louis XIII, *Cominus et Eminus* [From Near and Far]; the salamander in flames of Francis 1st, *Nutrisco et extinguo* [I nourish and extinguish]; the yoke of Leo X, here biblically linked through the word *Suave* [Sweet]; a prickly necklace with *Sauciat et defendit* [It wounds and defends] for the Count von Pitigliano; an arrow in the center of a sheet with *Βαλλ' ούτος* [Shoot in this way][54] for Cardinal Farnese; a fumigated beehive with

54 This comes from the opening words of Homer, Il. 8.282 where Agamemnon is urging Teucer son of Telamon to "shoot [his arrows] on in this way" The primary meaning of

the motto *Pro bono malum* [Evil for good] for Ludovico Ariosto as a symbol of complete ingratitude[55] also the caduceus with cornucopia used by Alciato (fig. 106). Also noteworthy is the device which the Marchese del Vasto[56] uses, that is, *In materia amorosa* [as amorous material]; it was invented by Antonio Epicuro a member of the Neapolitan Academy and shows an open temple with a fire burning on an altar and the motto *Junoni Laciniae dicatum* [dedicated to the Juno Lacinia] because his love was as inextinguishable as the fire in the temple.[57] It should be mentioned at this stage that the countless Italian academies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries not only adopted their own impreses but so did the members for their individual but related motifs; often there was much completely fruitless discussion over the meaning of all these.[58]

An unmistakable relationship with Giovio is demonstrated by Ludovico Domenichi [1515–1564] in his *Ragionamento, nel quale si parla d'Imprese d'armi e d'amore* [Treatise in which are discussed Devices of arms and of love] which after Giovio's death in 1574 in Lyons was published together with the latter's *Dialogo*. The author in this treatise illustrates a portrait medallion of

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βαλλειν, which in this context is to shoot, is throw and is the origin of both the word symbol that is συμβαλλειν "to throw or bring together" and the word emblem that is ἐμβαλλειν "to throw at something", for instance mosaic which is inlaid. Even Cardinal Farnese may not have appreciated the full significance of his device.

55 See A. Casadei *Il* Pro Bono Malum *Ariotesco e la Bibbia* at http://www.nuovorinascimento.org/n-rinasc/saggi/pdf/casadei/pro-bono.pdf (11/17/2017). Casadei points out that all the biblical references to *Pro Bono Malum* except *Genesis* 44.4 are in the context of ingratitude.

56 De Vasto was the cousin and successor of the Marchese Pescara (see p. 69 nt. 157). They were both Imperialist generals who commanded at the Battle of Pavia.

57 According to Pliny the ashes on the altar of this Goddess in Croton were never scattered by the wind, even though the temple was open all around; this is thus a free variant of the classical source. Winckelmann takes it further in his 'Allegory'. See also fig. 50 where Ruscelli [*Imprese* p. 45] repeats the device (**v**). Winckelmann (see p. 332 below) says the temple symbolizes the "open silence of the mind." Croton is in southern Italy and the Sanctuary was named after Lacinius a legendary local hero. There was also a Temple of Juno Lacinia in the Valley of the Temples at Agricento in Sicily built about 450 BCE.

58 See Scipion Bargagli (below p. 116), *Delle Imprese*, wherein on page 125, there is praise for the work of those academics who invented the witty objects, called emblems. There, there is also a description of academic impreses on flags (**v**). Bargagli's text has been digitized at https://archive.org/details/laprimapartedelloibarg (11/17/2017). The standard reference for the Devices of the Italian Academies is Michele Maylender *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, Bologna, 1926–30 supplemented by Jennifer Montague *An Index of Emblems of the Italian Academies*, London: Warburg Institute, 1988 although the latter misnames the title of her book which should be Devices and not Emblems.

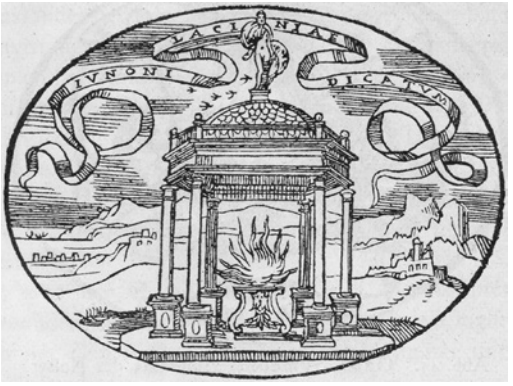

FIGURE 46
Paulo Giovio, Impresa of the Marchese del Vasto.

himself with an emblem on the reverse: a vase with flowers, struck by lightning. The vase signifies life (for which see below for the Frenchman, Geoffroy Tory), the flowers signify virtue which can be struck by lightning but is not burnt, pursuant to the motto Ἀναδέδοναι, καὶ οὐ καίει [it strikes and is not lit]. He then mentions Giovio through whose death he had lost so much and Alciato's *Emblemata* as well as Bocchi's *Symbola* some of whose emblems, he says, are good but others laughable. He also discusses the collection of Girolamo Ruscelli which we refer to below. Then there are listed countless *Imprese* of famous men without images, often created by Domenichi himself, which frequently make use of references to Pierio Valeriano, but without there being any mention of hieroglyphs. He uses for Count Brunoro Pietra the stork as a sign of appreciation, for Christoforo Medruccio the Phoenix in flames *Perit ut vivat* [It dies so as to live]; for Camillo Caula an elephant gazing at the moon, *Pietas deo nos conciliat* [Piety reconciles us to God], and so on. Also are shown some of Domenico Poggini's medallions with symbolic reverses which I mention with some admiration; this branch of the symbolic arts continued to enjoy a lasting relationship with the whole field of emblematics. However, Domenichi explicitly emphasized that direct homonymic word-games were just foolish, even if they were derived from Imprese and found broad appeal.

Nevertheless, since this genre of picture language stretches on almost endlessly we should briefly allude to it. A Bolognese gentleman wishing secretly to commemorate his love whose name was Catherine bore as his Device a broken link (cate—na), in the gap of which there was a king of cards, Re, or in Bolognese, Ri. Similarly, a Lombard chooses a yoke (giogo, or in the Lombard tongue Giovo) and two rings (annella) so as to celebrate his Giovanella. The low point of this tastelessness shows a beard (barba) and a half frog (rana) for Barbara; one could quip about this that it could be taken also as "a half shaven

FIGURE 47
Gabriello Symeoni, Impresa of the Emperor Augustus.

beard" which would have been even shorter! From the novel of Masuccio[59] is related also the story of a lost love which illustrates this false love as a ring with false diamonds and the inscription, "Lama asabthani"[60] which means: "Di, amante falso, perche m'hai abbandonato?" [Say, false love, why have you abandoned me?]. All these wonders are therefore in their ways representative of the whole era and the dialog thus gives an admirable insight into the whole of this culture deriving from emblem and device.

A similar collection to Giovio's was offered by Gabriello Symeoni [1509–1575] with his *Imprese heroiche et morali* [Heroic and moral devices] which was published in Florence in 1559 and frequently reissued: in 1560 in Lyons by Roville with the title, *Le Sententiose Imprese* [Pious Devices], later in 1567 by Plantin in Antwerp with the *Symbola* [*Heroica*] of Claudio Paradino [Claude Paradin, 1510–1573] and in 1574 in Lyons with Giovio and Domenichi together. One has the strong feeling that all these things belong together and complement each other. There are many examples of emblems one could take but particularly interesting is the novel illustration of an ancient motto; the *Festina Lente* of Augustus which is signified by a butterfly and a crab, a motif which was much beloved and often reused. Derived directly from this was the similar maxim for

59 The *Novellino* of Masuccio Salernitano was first published in Naples in 1475/6. This reference comes from the forty-first story.

60 Volkmann transcribes this phrase incorrectly. It derives from Mathew 27.46 where Jesus calls out from the cross "My God, why has thou forsaken me" or "Eli, lama sabachtani."

FIGURE 48 *Gabriello Symeoni, Dialogo pio et speculativo. Epitaph of the Author* (*reduced*).

Titus with the anchor and the dolphin and through that the printer's mark of Aldus.[61]

In another text entitled *Dialogo pio et speculativo* [Roviglio, 1560] which has yet to be considered by us, Symeoni takes us back to both the imperial imprese and to ancient medallion reverses so that he could expound a learned treatise on antiquarianism, coins etc. from Lyon where he had lived a long time. Towards the end of the book he provides (p. 203) a hitherto scarcely noticed expansive example of the purest Renaissance hieroglyph, in which he, speaking with the name of Uranus, displays the epitaph of his partner Dipistio with the account of his life's journey although this had already been designed for himself in advance, and prepared with a woodcut. He says:

> The figures which you see here serve not only as decoration but give the place of my birth; Mars stands as the sign of the crab, the moon as the sign of the scorpion (the figures to the left and right of the portrait), while important celestial objects, the sun, Venus and Mercury, are placed above, with below, Saturn as a young woman and Jupiter as an archer.

61 Presumably Volkmann means by this that the mark of Aldus first used in c. 1501 was derived from Augustus but not from the butterfly and crab of the emblem books. See Excursus 4 p. 221 on the origin of Aldus' printer's mark.

There follows the text of his horoscope and then the explanation of the signs in the circle which encloses the portrait and which are single hieroglyphs (beginning above right).

> The other hieroglyphs are all moral symbols … The Egyptians used the eye and the burning lamp for life since when it was extinguished it symbolized death, and the butterfly for the briefness of life just as you see above my brow in the picture. The hares are symbols of beauty, … the panther near the hares signifies the delusion hidden in beauty. The lamb with its foot on a wheel indicates the impermanence and the fleetingness of empire.… and this is shown by a lamb because the empires of old depended on cattle … The eagle with the fish grasped in its claw symbolizes that every kingdom or empire is hateful, particularly if one or the other is ruled by an unjust, cruel, vicious and avaricious prince.… the armor signifies war, and the mole which gnaws on it means damage which derives from war … the fighting cocks (beneath the center) are a sign for struggle … since the outcome depends on chance … the staff of snakes painted beneath the shoulder lapel, shows the deceitfulness of the path to peace … the Egyptians carved the backward bald head for the bad luck of old men … and because drums are prepared from the skins of dead animals, a drum placed here is the symbol of death.[62] Similarly happiness is depicted by a ship in the medallion of Augustus and Hadrian … finally the lyre as a symbol of knowledge and the trumpet between two lightning bolts as a symbol of widening fame (this follows classical precedents and coins etc.).[63] All the above-named hieroglyphs with Latin tags thus depict maxims expressing human ideas as follows: *Vita Brevis, Forma Decipiens, Pecuniae Fluxae, Imperium Invisum, Bellum Perniciosum, Victoria Anceps, Concordia Fallax, Senectus Misera, Mors Felicitas, Sapientae Fama Perennis*. And in the common tongue (vulgaris); life is short, beauty deceives, riches disappear, kingship is hateful, war is pernicious, the struggle uncertain, victory is fickle, old age is wretched, death is happy, the fame of wisdom is for ever. The hat over his face in the drawing means the freedom and noblesse of men (following the ancient usage for this[64]). Both hands clasped together are symbols of truth.

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62 The source for this he gives as Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*.

63 Volkmann omits the last symbol at 11 oclock on the ring which appears to be two crossed anchors.

64 The Phrygian cap, a soft conical hat with a tipped-over top, was a symbol of freedom for the earliest Greeks. In Roman times a similar hat, the *pileus*, was given as a symbol to freed slaves.

> The ring with a diamond similarly stands for the nobility and constancy of man in adversity … the triangle[65] indicates justice and the fairness of it; the origin of this is that the Egyptians erected the obelisks and pyramids in memory of their pharaohs which are called in folklore 'guglie' [obelisks] (following examples in Rome).[66] And finally there is the crane, which flies between Jupiter and Saturn and which the Egyptians used for vigilance and a preoccupation with the highest things; this is the sense of the four other hieroglyphs (in the corners) around my portrait with the following inscription: 'Liber, fidelis, constans, et justus, sublimium rerum indagator [free, faithful, constant and just, explorer of things divine].

It would be too much to follow and check one by one the origins of all these hieroglyphic signs; so many have been brought to our attention already, such as the lamp as a symbol of life, the caduceus as the hieroglyph of harmony and so on; others have self-evidently been derived or are analogous to antique sources. Particularly conspicuous is the flying crane which is found almost identically in Pierio Valeriano and also in Horapollo II, 95[67] where it says: "when they wish to signify a man who is expert in divine things, so they depict a flying crane, since this flies so high that it sees and understands mankind." So there is here a clear attestation of the intense interest of the authors of these devices in the hieroglyphs and as a result in its strong and enduring influence. This had to derive its value from the times when teachers had to find new symbols for princes and gentlemen.

Together with the imprese of Symeoni there appeared from 1567 on from Plantin in Antwerp, the *Symbola Heroica* [Heroic Symbols] of Claudius Paradinus, originally Claude Paradin, a chaplain of Beaujeu, Rhône; the first edition had appeared already in 1551 in Lyon under the title *Devises heroiques* [Heroic devices]. In his introduction, hieroglyphs are also particularly emphasized; from the *Hypnerotomachia* (see fig. 4) stems the motif, later often repeated, of a jar pouring water with the motto *poco a poco*, [gradually]. He also

65 The triangle is almost indistinguishable in the picture—it is just outside the ring at 7 oclock.

66 Volkmann seems to be suggesting here the untenable hypothesis that the Egyptians erected the pyramids as triangular objects to symbolize their rulers and thus justice. The name julia for an obelisk which was certainly current in Renaissance Rome does not seem relevant in the context. I have indicated (Giehlow (2015), p. 37 nt. ix) that the word "agulia" is given in the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (14) when describing the obelisk of Julius Caesar, "quod est memoria Caesaris, id est agulia, …" [that is in memory of Caesar, that is an agulia]. Agulia in this passage looks very much like a scribal error meaning "that is for Julius (Caesar)."

67 In modern editions this is *Horapollo* II, 98.

used many other motifs some for the first time, like the winged tongue with the motto *Quo tendis?* [Where are you going][68] after the adage of Erasmus. The whole work appeared even in England under the title *The Heroicall Devices of M. Claudius Paradin. Whereunto are added the Lord Gabriel Symones and others. Translated out of Latin into English by P.S.* By the way, the dialog of Giovio was also translated into English: *The Worthy tract of Paulus Giovius containing a Discourse of rare inventions, both Militarie and Amorous, called Imprese. By Samuel Daniell, late Student in Oxenforde. London 1585.* Generally in the second half of the sixteenth and in the seventeenth century there were published countless such works of imprese not only in Italy[69] but also in France, England, Germany, the Netherlands and even Spain. Henry Green also gives an overview of these in his book cited above, *Shakespeare and the emblem writers*.

There was also published in Venice the *Imprese nobili et ingeniose* of Lodovico Dolce with copper-plate engravings by Giovanni Battista Pittoni from Vicenza (1562, 1583 and later editions). This was a rich collection of the devices of princes and famous men, much of which was derived from Giovio. The accompanying verses are in Italian and the pictures are framed in rich baroque borders as was then the custom. The work is dedicated to Alfonso II Este, whose device *Excelsae firmitudini* [excelling in strength] with the picture of an obelisk marks the introduction. There follow among others the devices of Leo X, Louis XII, Ariosto and Alciato with his well-known device; also such authors of devices as Giovio, Domenichi, Lodovico Dolce himself and Girolamo Ruscelli are included. Charles V has as his symbol the two pillars of Hercules with crowns upon them, together with the motto *Plus Ultra*, [Still further],[70] as well as that of the architect Francesco Sansavino with a triumphal arch and the motto *In dies* [In this]. Dolce derives from Valeriano the device of Emanuel Filibert of Savoy: the elephant with lambs and the motto *Infestus infestis* [Hostile to the troublesome]. Titian's symbol, mentioned above, of the she-bear licking her cubs (*Natura potentior ars*) [Art is more powerful than nature], is here accompanied by the following verses.

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68 The full motto should be Lingua quo tendis. For further discussion of this motto, see p. 164 nts. 76 and 78 below.

69 It is reckoned that there were at least seventy contemporary treatises on Imprese in Italy.

70 This remains the national motto of Spain.

Molti in diverse eta dotti Pittori
Continuando insino a tempi nostri,
Han dimostrato in disegni e bei colori,
Quanto con la natura l'arte giostri:
E giunto furo al sommo de gli honori
E tenuti fra noi celesti Mostri
Ma Titian, merce d'alta ventura
Vinto ha l'arte, l'ingegno, e la natura.

[Many talented painters in different ages
Right up to our own times
Have given us designs and beautiful colors,
As art contends with nature:
They have attained the highest honors
And provided us with heavenly images
But Titian, favored with the highest achievements,
Conquered art, genius and nature.]

The device of Alfonso of Este, the obelisk, should also be given detailed consideration as for example Torquato Tasso[71] did in his dialog *Il Conte* [The Count] in which he discusses with a Roman count the obelisk which Sixtus V had had erected.[72] In this treatise he developed theories of hieroglyphs as well as imprese and devices.

Then there was another particularly richly illustrated work on the subject, the *Imprese Illustri* of Girolamo Ruscelli of 1564. Ruscelli, in three books with countless copper plates, gives a theoretical introduction to the development, the rules and the terms of the imprese based on the treatise of Giovio although he only partly agreed with some aspects of the latter. He particularly opposed the view that the use of the human figure was inadmissible but he did say that such figures should wear something out of the ordinary and certainly not contemporary costumes. Imprese could be used on

71 Torquato Tasso (1444–1495) was most famous for his epic *Jerusalem Delivered*, a depiction of the Siege of Jerusalem during the First Crusade. Among his other works was a treatise on the device *Il conte, overo de l'imprese.* A modern edition is *Il conte, overo, De l'imprese Torquato Tasso*, (ed. B. Basile), Rome: Salerno, 1993.

72 This is the Lateran Obelisk reerected by Sixtus V in 1587 after it had been found buried and broken in three pieces.

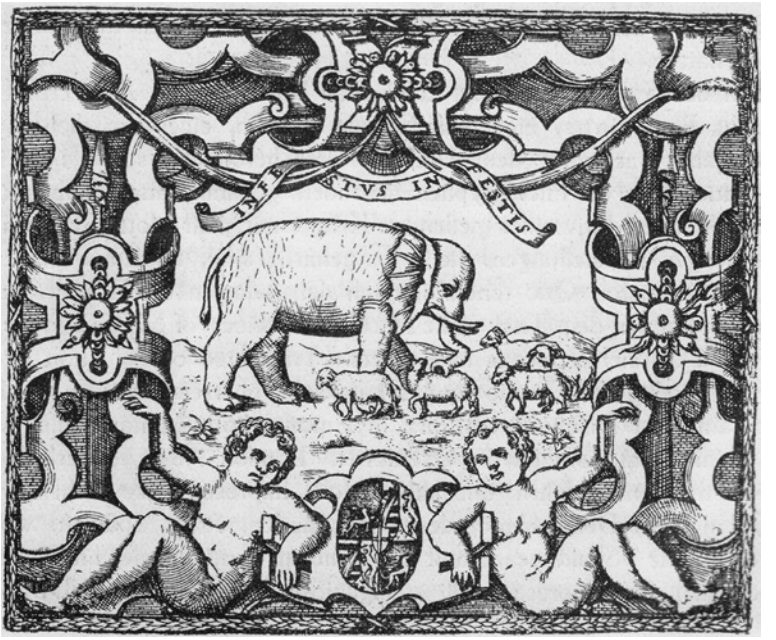

FIGURE 49 *Girolamo Ruscelli, Impresa of the Duke of Savoy.*

> flags, surcoats, crests, shields, on the medallions of hats and berets, over doors and on the walls of houses, or on seals, pictures and decorative hangings and finally also in books,

the latter being the first allusion to the tradition of individual printer's marks. For particular praise, he highlights the emblems and devices of his colleagues Alciato, Bocchi, Symeoni and Sambucus and then discusses the need for such symbols by the Greeks, the Italians and the Germans and says of these last in friendly terms:

> the Germans, who distinguished themselves for all time both in arms and knowledge and all other meaningful matters, are also tremendously blessed in this field of the emblem.

Finally there follow the imprese of the Emperor, of kings, of popes, princes and great men and women with varied interpretations to which there needs not much more introduction than is already been given from the many other collections. Thus one can again see the elephant with the lambs of Prince Emanuel Filibert of Savoy and again the temple of Juno Lacinia for the Marchese del

FIGURE 50
Girolamo Ruscelli, Impresa of the Marchese del Vasto.

Vasto (see fig. 50) although with the misconception that instead of the prerequisite of inextinguishable fire, there is depicted a statue of the goddess on an altar. A heavy frame bears the arms of the owner and as further evidence for this the family arms are shown independently of his personal symbol. From Valeriano (Book 41) Ruscelli also derives the motif of the diamond being struck unavailingly by two hammers, with the motto *Semper adamas* [always hard] for Colonel Antonio Carracciolo (see fig. 54) and he employs with rich effect other frequently used symbols like the phoenix, pelican, peacock, swan, ship and so on.

Since these well-known symbols were always reused in new collections and with new meanings, an example can be illustrated from the *Imprese illustri di diversi, coi discorsi di Camillo Camilli* [Famous devices of different gentlemen, with a commentary by Camillo Camilli] with engravings by Girolamo Porro from Padua, published by Ziletti in Venice in 1586. For instance in I, 13 for Antonio Beffa de' Negrini there is the well-tried motif of the tortoise which as in Colonna represents sluggishness but with the contrast of a pair of wings which spring directly from the animal's head and, as the motto explains, lift it from the earth. The author links this by its similarity to the impresa of the Grand Duke Cosimo Medici, which bore a tortoise with a sail (see below fig. 55) and this also derives from Pierio Valeriano, who at the beginning of his 28th book says this: *Testudinem pictura in symbolorum genere est admodum speciose* [A picture of a tortoise as a kind of symbol is particularly beautiful]. From Valeriano also he took the Doric columns of Gabbriello Cesarini (I, 70) with the words *Frangar, non flectar* [Break but do not bend] from his description of the columns in Book 49 of the *Hieroglyphica*, symbolizing strength. Finally, equally well-known is the crane with the stone for Pietro Melchiori de Tonetti (I, 159)

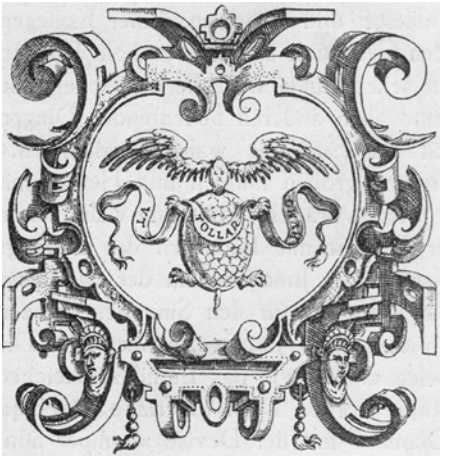

FIGURE 51
Camillo Camilli. Impresa of Antonio Beffa de'Nigrini.

for which the phrase *Nunquam decidet* [He never decides] puts a new spin on the motif. These few examples suffice to show also how these ancient motifs could be mixed with the modern.

No wonder that all this dilution and degeneration finally stimulated criticism and as a result one last Italian work takes a special place and must be briefly mentioned: Scipion(e) Bargagli's *Dell' Imprese*, Venice 1589, published by Francesco de' Franceschi Senese (earlier editions were not available to me).[73] The author, who had studied in Pavia and Padua, provides in dialog form a very wide ranging discussion on the origin and meaning of devices with many examples in word and image taken from all his predecessors. Thus in relation to the creation of the imprese of Ruscelli, he says that the latter had been drawn "from the sacred letters of the ancient Egyptians, called hieroglyphs" and that they depicted philosophical and theological subjects through the medium of figures of trees, animals and other things. Even medallions served as models. Alessandro Farra in his *Settenario* [Venice: Ziletti, 1571] carried back the origin even further since according to him it was the Kabbala of the Hebrews from which was derived the sacred Egyptian script, the teachings of Orpheus, the numbers and symbols of Pythagoras, the coins of the Greeks, Roman medallions, and family Coats of Arms. Others say that the Lord God himself created the first impresa, namely the tree of knowledge with the words *Ne comedes* [Do not eat]. Farra adds useful information about texts on imprese and also names as the latest authors, Luca Contile, who in 1574 published a

73 The first edition was Siena: Bonetti, 1578. The second and third parts of the book were only added in the 1594 edition, Venice: Senese.

Ragionamento sopra la proprietà delle Imprese [Treatise on the correct properties of the Imprese] [Pavia, Bartoli] and Giovanni Andrea Palazzi,[74] although neither of these made reference to the origin of the genre by Paolo Giovio. In this treatise, he calls the harp the device of David, the dove that of Solomon and the lamb with the motto *Ecce qui tollit peccata mundi* [Lo, he who takes away the sins of the world] the symbol of Christ. Further on, this is taken as the symbol of the evangelists! Other well-known *imprese* are depicted in the same exposition and review such as the characteristic symbol of Louis XII of France which is particularly well-known, since as a result of its *pictura* of a spine-shooting porcupine and the motto *Cominus et Eminus*, the king was commonly called "King Porcupine." The question of the legitimacy of the use of the human figure was taken very broadly and so was the question whether a motto was necessary or not.

Then we come to the discussion over the interpretation of reverses of medals, and also ciphers (*cifre figurate*), which at the time were only used by common folk, although in previous generations they had been held in high regard and were often designed very elegantly. A letter by a lady to her lover demonstrating that she was furious with him serves as an example: a sparrow was depicted upon a vessel containing milk with the word: *La ti passerà* [There you will pass on]. Others were mixed with figures, words or letters and just as in the rebus, they could incorporate musical notes. Thus in Tuscany there can be seen an example which includes a K, the notes mi and la, the face of a Moorish woman and finally a heart, extracted from a bitch and a wolf which signifies *Camilla Sarazina, cagna, lupa, squarcia cuori* [Ka-mi-la Saracen (moor), bitch, wolf, broken heart]. Also there is the puzzle of the false diamond, a little changed, and on a somewhat lighter note, one from an enigma by a Lombard who depicts a dry piece of Parmesan with, on it or close by, the motto: *O caso duro!* [Oh hard case]. One can see that this interest in such word games was the origin of the spread of emblematics and that later they would have great appeal particularly in France.[75]

Bargagli shied away from and refused to pursue a critique of such ciphers as a result of their ambiguity, thus blowing away from the high-point of these studies like clouds in the wind all those imprese which were derived from

74 Giovanni Andrea Palazzi, *I discorsi di M. Gio. Andrea Palazzi sopra l'imprese*, Bologna: Benacci, 1575.

75 Pietro Aretino treated in one of his comedies a fool, who mocked the caricature of the imprese, in which he says that his device should be an angel (amo), a dolphin and a heart (cuore), which means 'Amo del fino cuore' [I love with a delicate heart] (v). This is from the Prologue to Aretino's comedy *Il Marescalco*, Venice: Bidoni, 1550.

hieroglyphs. When the ancient sages signified their freedom through hats[76] or crowns of grass,[77] a form of prize for their military leaders, at least this showed an actual concrete example not one from the individual life or experience of the bearer of the symbol as is the case with modern imprese. Thus these ancient symbols (which were not quite comparable with the hieroglyphs) are today scarcely understood by scholars let alone by the less educated. One can only employ more widely used symbols today and only those with a contemporary meaning, for example the hat as a head-covering, just as the moon and the sun [can only be understood] in their natural sense and not in the Egyptian manner. In this way, [according to Bargagli] hieroglyphic pictures (geroglyphici) clearly differ from the other imprese to which hieroglyphics never contributed; and so he asks the following question on page 98:

> should not therefore all these various and unique Egyptian things which have been collected and selected by Pierio and other learned men always be acknowledged as favorably and respectfully as those beautiful imprese?

The question should be respectfully affirmed as far as it deals with imprese. Valeriano's ideas are more meaningful for medallions for which antique material is more suitable; for devices, modern customs, objects and costumes are all more appropriate. Who in such words would not feel the wave of the approaching naturalism in Italian art?!

As for symbolic medals, Bargagli adduces countless examples from Siena where at the Festival of the Epiphany of the *Corte de Ferraiuoli* (Guild of the Smiths) copies of ancient art were made for noble, beautiful and distinguished ladies. From such examples he describes a lion with a cane which absolutely derives from Valeriano. At the close he stresses again that imprese should consist only of abstruse things from nature and art, no fables and history, nothing hieroglyphical, and especially that everything should have its true meaning. It is the sharpest rejection of the direction taken hitherto in the field, although this was so deeply rooted that one might have expected some kind of reaction. On the contrary, it immediately raised voices who wished to dispense with the old customs and vindicate hieroglyphics in the sense used by Pierio Valeriano. To this belonged the *Insignium, armorum, emblematum, hieroglyphicorum et*

76 A freed man in classical Rome was depicted and symbolized by a soft leather hat, the Phrygian hat and this came to represent freedom. See p. 110 nt. 64 above.

77 Presumably this refers to the laurel wreaths worn by victorious Roman generals or by prizewinners at the games.

symbolum, quae ab Italis Imprese nominantur [On insignia, arms, emblems, hieroglyphs and symbols which are called Imprese by the Italians] by the Englishman Abraham Fraunce published in London by Thomas Orwin [in 1588]. It is a thorough treatment with countless examples but without pictures; it consists of three parts, *De Insignibus, de Armis* and *De Symbolis, Emblematibus et Hieroglyphicis.* Valeriano, Alciato, Giovio, Ruscelli, Bargagli, Claudius Minos, Luca Contile and others are richly quoted. He believed that the imprese were just a local phenomenon deriving from King Arthur and the English knights. He again vindicated the hieroglyphs against Bargagli but in the same sense as Valeriano and, so far as he is understandable, he defines the difference between the sacred and the demotic writing of the Egyptians and proposes a single author for the hieroglyphs. He also mentions the Horapollo in the following interesting manner:

> But what Philip took from Orus was partially translated from Greek and from garbled Latin and French. With the result that I can say without hesitation what I think, that it appears to me that this *Hieroglyphica* collected from Horus and left in our hands, should not be taken to be so lofty and intangible that it could not be understood by every man that has only greeted the Muses on the threshold. From which I would take to mean that those celebrated mysteries of the Egyptians were already beginning to be lost through the disfavor of time and only a single oddment and at the same time a selection and some ruined debris of the [hieroglyphic] material has been recovered in our time.

In such a manner he leads on to countless of the known hieroglyphic symbols from Pierio Valeriano. At least he derives from that work how widespread was the interest for these things even in the lands outside Italy and how much they had in common with hieroglyphics. Also there was published in France almost simultaneously a similar book by L'Anglois: *Discours des hiéroglyphs égyptiens, emblèmes, etc.*, Paris 1583.[78] From all these things, as from the countless further publications in Italy itself, there is nothing noteworthy, nothing else fundamental which could be derived from them in any way other than what has already been sufficiently indicated from earlier examples. To do so could only lead to tired repetitions.

78 L'Anglois gives a comparison between Mexican "hieroglyphs," Chinese characters and Egyptian hieroglyphs.

FIGURE 52
Typotius, Symbola, Vol. III Plate 33 (*reduced*).

A kind of collection or recapitulation of the complete literature of the *Imprese* of the cinquecento was provided by a very large-scale work, which appeared about the turn of the century and which would make use of all the latest sources and examples. This was Jacobus Typotius' *Symbola divina et humana Pontificum, Imperatorum, Regum etc.* 3 volumes Prague 1601–1603. Jakob Typotius, a Dutch lawyer [1540–1601] who had studied in Italy and later was the *Familiaris Aulae*[79] and Hofhistoriograph [Court historian] of Rudolf II, illustrated in this work the collection of Devices which Octavius de Strada von Rosberg, the imperial antiquary and scholarly author of a biography of

79 A minor official in the Imperial Court. Subsequently Johannes Sambucus also was granted such a title. Typotius had died after the completion of the first book and the remainder was completed by Anselm de Boodt; in any event Octavius de Strada had made his collection available in manuscript form at least ten years before Typotius' book was published. See F. J. Stopp, *The Emblems of the Altdorf Academy: Medals and Medal Orations, 1577–1626*, Modern Humanities Research Association, 1974, p. 95.

the Roman emperor,[80] had collected in his "Museum." The first-class engraver Egidius (Gilles) Sadeler, who was born in Antwerp in 1575, had also come from Italy and been called to Prague by Rudolf II, gave the whole work a unified artistic form. The Viennese Hofbibliothek has preserved in its manuscript version five volumes of the neat original symbols of Strada (Nrs 9421–23, 9427, 9771).[81] The first part contains a dedication to Prince Friedrich of Württemberg, dated Prague 1595, in which it is said that since that time no one had yet thoroughly collected emblems;[82] the third part is signed at the end: "Octavius de Strada, Aulicus of the Emperor Rudolph, has composed [delineavit] this book," and also includes some pasted-in Emblems in another style. A further volume can be found in the Ambraser Copper Plate Collection (#5252) in the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna in the collection for sculpture and arts and crafts. The same motifs are repeated many times or the names of the author are identified differently. Typotius even gives *Isagoge*[83] as his penname so that the reader, as he says in the foreword, "has a mystagogue for the mysteries." He calls knowledge [in his book] *hierographia,* and he distinguishes between: 1. Hieroglyphicon = Pictura and 2. Symbola = Scriptura.

Each of the splendid folio pages contains at least six medallions engraved with impreses with accompanying mottos, and above them the name of the authors; the Latin text then gives an explanation. At the start, the *Hierographia of the Holy Eucharist and the Holy Cross* is introduced—thus demonstrating that all these things were turning at the time more and more to the spiritual—then there follows in Volume 1 the devices of Popes, the Emperor and Kings, in Volume 2 those of the princes of the church and the Empire and in Volume 3 further princes and knights. After the death of Typotius the commentary was added by the imperial doctor Anselm de Boodt from Brugge. With these impreses we meet very many motifs which remind us of Horapollo, Colonna, Valeriano and Alciato and many are already contained in the earlier collections of impreses. In the Plate which is rendered here for example (Plate III, 33) in the first place there is depicted the elephant with the lambs which Lodovico

80 The work is mentioned by Fischart and derives from the Mantuan, Jacobus de Strada, who wrote a work on medals and was portrayed by Titian (Viennese Gallery) (**v**). Octavius de Strada, *De Vitis imperatorum et Caesarum Romanorum.* Francofurt am Main: Bringerus, 1615.

81 Now the Austrian National Library. The manuscript has been digitized; see http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/AC10269607 (11/17/2017).

82 The printed edition does not include this dedication. Presumably Volkmann means here "up to this time" no one had collected emblems, not "since this time."

83 Presumably from the same Greek word meaning "introduction" and so "teacher" or "iniatior." A mystagogue is someone who initiates into the mysteries.

Dolce and Girolamo Ruscelli (fig. 49) had used as the symbol of Duke Filibert of Savoy, another we have seen already from Bargagli as the porcupine of Louis XII, which Duke Charles of Burgundy also used from Typotius (II, 10) or the necklace of spines of Nicola Orsini (III, 19) and others. The "Pious Elephant" (I, 20) comes from Valeriano Book 2; the Anchor and Dolphin (Adolf von Nassau, I, 38) from Colonna and so on as well as from Alciato; the salamander in flames (Charles VII Valois, I, 81) from Horapollo and earlier Imprese (Giovio); the crane with the stone (Henry VII of England I, 102) from Valeriano, Book 17; Hercules with the Hydra (Pierino Gonzaga, II, 19) from Alciato; the globe with a rudder (Cardinal Riario II, 60) from the *Hypnerotomachia* and Giovio and one could enumerate many more. It is fascinating to observe how often the same Imprese are used time and again by others. In the picture here we give some characteristic examples: the hand with the eye on it (II, 28, Cardinal Mathäis Lang) stems from Alciato (fig. 37 above), the diamond with two hammers (III, 172, Antonio Carriacciolo) was already taken via Ruscelli from Valeriano as mentioned, and the two images of turtles are further variations on the topic we have discussed many times, that is winged lethargy or moderated speed.

FIGURE 53
Typotius. Symbola. Impresa of Cardinal Mathäus Lang (*reduced*).

FIGURE 54
Typotius. Symbola. Impresa of Antonio Carracciolo. (*reduced*).

FIGURE 55
Typotius. Symbola. Impresa of Cosimo Medici (*reduced*).

FIGURE 56
Typotius. Symbola. Impresa of Prince Felix of Salerno (*reduced*).

So we can now leave the field of emblems and devices for the time being and turn to hieroglyphic studies outside Italy and thus consider the basis upon which a lively interest in all these questions had already developed in other European countries and had already largely proliferated.

Excursus 2: On the Origin of Alciato's *Emblemata*

The emblem literature as the archetypal expression of the contemporary European obsession with literary symbolism is now said to comprise at least 6,500 titles (including separate editions of the same work).[84] As Volkmann confirms, the so-called *pater et princeps* of the genre was Andreas Alciato with his *Emblemata Liber* first published in 1531. This Excursus examines and summarizes how and when Alciato conceived the name and contents of the *Emblemata*; for this there appear to be just four references to Alciato's (or his editor's) intentions.

1. In a letter of 1521 to his friend and book dealer Francesco Calvi he says:[85]

> On this feast of Saturnalia, to humor the illustrious Ambrosio Visconti I composed a book of epigrams, to which I have given the title Emblemata: because with each epigram I describe something from history or nature so as to signify something appropriate, whence painters, goldsmiths and founders can make the sort of things we call badges and fasten to hats or which we call trademarks. Like the anchor of Aldus, the dove of Froben or the elephant of Calvus which is so long in labor and gives birth to nothing. [I call this quotation "Letter": trans. P. M. Daly et al., *Andreas Alciatus: the Latin Emblems*, University of Toronto Press 1985][86]

84 See p. XVII above.

85 For a detailed discussion as to the date of this letter, see Giehlow (2015) p. 255 nt. 47.

86 Barni p. 46: His saturnalibus, ut illustri Ambrosio Vicecomiti morem gererem, libellus composui epigrammaton, cui titulum feci Emblemata, singulis enim epigrammatibus aliquid describo, quod ex historia, vel ex rebis naturalibus aliquid elegans significet, unde pictores, aurifices, fusores id genus conficere possint, quae scuta appellamus et petasis figimus vel pro insignibus gestamus, qualis ancora Aldi, columba Frobeni et Calvi elephas tam diu parturiens, nihil pariens.

Saturnalia was one of the biggest holidays in the Roman calendar occurring in mid December; it was the forerunner of the Christmas holiday. Gifts were given and often among these were gifts of nuts a tradition which is referred to in the dedication to the *Emblemata*.[87] Another form of such a gift was the ecphrastic epigram. If a precious object was beyond your means, you could always substitute for it a poem describing such an object; this too was a very old tradition. The last two books of Martial's epigrams are entitled *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, Greek for New Year's gifts and gifts given by hosts to their departing guests. Martial's distichs could be used to accompany such gifts or substitute for them.

In the extract "Dedication" below, Alciato repeats the remark that his emblems were created during "festive hours" and this reinforces the suggestion that they were intended initially as no more than recreations, *nugae*, trifles, the composition of which he passed the time on a public holiday. Even the publisher of the second edition of 1534 which most likely was the first authorized edition did not have high expectations for the book. He demoted the title from *Liber Emblematum*, Book of Emblems, to *Emblematum Libellus*, Little Book of Emblems. *Libellus*, from which obviously we get the modern word libelous, had overtones even during the Renaissance of something insubstantial and trifling and later as satirical. Wechel who published the first Latin/German edition of the *Emblemata* in 1542 had a similar expectation; he also described the emblems, again in the words of a couplet of Martial, as difficult trifles over which it would be foolish to spend any time!

"To humor the illustrious Ambrosio Visconti." Volkmann omits the whole first sentence of the extract as do other commentators on Alciato although the role of Visconti is emphasized in a letter Alciato wrote to Boniface Amerbach on May 10th 1523 where he says that "the author of the poem was Albutius, but the inspiration was from Ambrosio Visconti."[88] *Inventio* (inspiration) as a feature of the art of elocution was the process of searching for arguments for the topic of your speech but in this context it probably means that Visconti made a suggestion about the creation of a certain species of epigram and Albutius and Alciato worked on this suggestion. Albutius was also a Milanese lawyer and a friend of Alciato and he is distinguished by the fact that

87 Dum pueros juglans, juvenes dum tessera fallit,/Detinet et segnes chartula picta viros … [While boys the nuts beguile and youths the dice/And sluggish men the figured board detain … trans. Henry Green.]

88 Barni, p. 59: Carminis auctor est Albutius, inventionis Ambrosius Vicecomes. See also E. Klecker, "Des signes muets aux emblèmes chanteurs: Les Emblemata d'Alciati et l'emblématique," *Littérature*, 1 (2007), 145, pp. 23–52. Miedema in his classic exposition believes that Visconti's suggested the actual title of the work *Emblemata*; see H. Miedema, "The Term *Emblema* in Alciati (sic)," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Intitutes*, 31 (1968), pp. 234–50.

Alciato's Emblem 143 is said to have been written by him. It has also been suggested that on several occasions for reasons of modesty or perhaps security Alciato attributed Albutio's name to his own works.[89] The latter did also write for his own account however and his poetic works are listed in Mazuchelli and Argelati.[90]

The Visconti family had been the rulers of Milan until 1450 when they were displaced by the Sforzas and in 1522 at the date of the composition of the *Emblemata*,[91] Milan was ruled by Francesco II Sforza. However, the *pictura* of Emblem 1 of the *Emblemata*, a snake swallowing (or giving birth to) a child, was the arms of the Visconti; the Sforza's arms were the imperial eagle quartered with the snake of the Visconti. Also, in the first edition of the *Emblemata* of 1531, the name of the Duke is not mentioned but in the 1534 and subsequent editions his name is given as Maximilian, a Sforza, whose rule over Milan ended in 1515. In spite of these anomalies, from the evidence of the letter, it appears that the first draft of the *Emblemata* had been composed by 1521 and possibly the first emblems were already written by 1515; Giehlow suggests that the word "composed" does not necessarily mean that Alciato had finished the book; he may have added additional material over the intervening period before publication.[92] There have also been suggestions that there was a printed edition from this earlier date but this has never come to light. Henry Green searched diligently for it and wrote, he says, to every major library in Europe but no trace of a printed edition earlier than 1531 has ever been found.[93]

"I composed a book of epigrams." This for Alciato was common practice; he composed and translated many epigrams so that this exercise was not of itself unusual either for himself or for others at the time; every gentleman had the duty to be as adept with the pen as with the sword.[94] The archetypal source for the Renaissance epigram was the *Greek Anthology*[95] and Alciato translated more than one hundred

89 See Johannes Köhler, "Alciato's Shadow: Aurelio Albutio," *Emblemata* 9.2. (1995), p. 343.

90 See G. Mazzuchelli, *Gli scrittori d'Italia*, Brescia: Bossini, 1753, p. 349, and F. Argelati and G. A. Sassi, *Bibliotheca scriptorum Mediolanensium*, Milan: Palatina, 1745, p. 26.

91 See Barni p. 46 nt. 3 for a list of possible candidates for this Ambrosio Visconti.

92 Giehlow (2015) p. 258.

93 Alciato did however publish two classical commentaries during this time: the *Annotations on Justinian* Strasbourg: Schottus, 1515 and the *Annotations on Tacitus* Milan: Minutiana, 1517.

94 Some of this neo-Latin poetry is published in Ijsewijn and Sacré's *The Companion to NeoLatin Studies*, Leuven: 1977 but they state that the 1,100 pages of this Companion are hardly enough to contain even an outline of the subject.

95 The *Greek Anthology* contains the bulk of the ancient epigrams we now have, with about four thousand five hundred entries contributed by three hundred authors. It was compiled in the tenth century by Constantine Cephalas but his manuscript was lost to the West until a copy was rediscovered in about 1616 in the library of the Count Palatine of

and fifty epigrams from the Anthology for a collection which was published in 1529 by Cornarius and co-edited by Alciato. He had already contributed nine translations for a similar collection published the year before by Johannes Soter, entitled *Epigrammatae Graeca.* Altogether more than thirty of the *Emblemata* of the first edition originate with the *Greek Anthology*.

If the original collection of Alciato's Visconti epigrams/emblems were not printed, possibly they survived in manuscript form. According to the bibliography of Mazzuchelli of 1763,[96] a manuscript with five books of epigrams by Alciato was in the Visconti Library at that date. Argelati[97] had already reported the same thing with the interesting additional information that two of these books were "ad Aurelius Albutium" which perhaps means that they were dedicated to Albutius. The Visconti Library was merged with the Bibliotheca Trivulziana, now housed in the Sforza Castle in Milan but it appears from personal inspection that there is no reference to the Alciato manuscripts in the present catalog of the Trivulziana. These manuscripts therefore appear to have been lost with the result that we may now never know which if any of Alciato's earlier epigrams were included in the *Emblemata*.

"Painters, … can make badges … and trademarks." Here we have the first reference to the decorative purposes of the *Emblemata* which is repeated in the "Dedication" extract and at length in Extract 4 "Fasanini." On the one hand this purpose is confirmed by the selection of ecphrastic epigrams as the basis for many of the emblems although Alciato also used other genres. Laurens and Vuillemer demonstrate how the epigrams of the *Greek Anthology* which he used were carefully chosen by Alciato from three types: ecphrastic including those based on his own collection of inscriptions from Milanese statuary, funerary epigrams, and those emphasizing some ingenious conceit[98] although this latter would seem to cover the ideal function and format of all epigrams which in theory aimed at a text the meaning of which was concealed until a witty denoument in the final couplet or so.

It is beyond the scope of this Excursus to parse the emblems of Alciato's 1531 edition and examine whether, out of all the epigrams available to him from the *Greek Anthology* and from other collections such as the publication by Cornarius, these

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Heidelberg. This is now named the Palatine text and was published in full in 1776. Another abridged version in seven books prepared by the fourteenth-century monk Maximus Planudes was discovered and published in 1497 in Florence by Jean Lascaris and this version was used as a source book by many Renaissance writers including Alciato and his followers.

96 Mazzuchelli p. 371.

97 Argelati p. 26.

98 P. Laurens and F. Vuilleumier, "De l'archéologie à l'emblème: la genèse du Liber Alciati," *Revue de l'Art*, 101, (1993) pp. 86–95.

reflect a selection best suited for display as decorative elements. For this latter purpose it might be thought that images would be a desirable accompaniment of the text and thus contribute to our understanding of Alciato's special purpose for his text. But we know that the images in the first 1531 edition of the Emblemata were apparently included by the publisher without Alciato's knowledge or authority and a lack of interest by Alciato in this aspect of the composition of his emblems also extended to later editions. After Wolfgang Hunger had persuaded the French publisher Wechel to publish his (Hunger's) German translation of the Emblems, to his dismay Wechel sent him a further large batch of emblems newly arrived from Alciato for translation with the additional request that he prepare instructions for the engraver for the pictures for these new emblems. Apparently, Alciato had not found it necessary to perform this chore himself as he composed each emblem. In fact, in spite of his apparent disappointment with the publication of the first edition, he now felt as he wrote in a letter of 1532 that the poetry in his *Emblemata* was of such quality that he had high hopes of being inducted into the poet's hall of fame! [*non desperem posse me in poetarum collegio admitti*] His lack of interest in the images which were of course seen subsequently as essential elements of the emblem genre demonstrates that his intention for his composition was certainly not the integrated tripartite meditative format that the emblem genre was to become.

As for the composition of printers' marks which Alciato states in this extract as also being appropriate to be modelled on his Emblemata, Volkmann has enumerated in his Appendix many examples which originated with the emblematists. In all these cases the printers had the images of the emblems to copy which was not the case when Alciato wrote his letter of 1523 but it was certainly prescient of him to envisage such a use for his emblems even if it tells us little about his intentions at the time.

2. In the *De verborum Significatione* [On the meaning of words][99] published in 1530, he writes:

> Words signify, ideas are signified. Although at times things likewise signify, as for example the hieroglyphs in the writings of Horus and Chaeremon, a line of reasoning we have also used in a little book entitled Emblemata. [I call this passage "Words"][100]

99 See p. 84 nt. 3 for reference to this work.

100 *De Verborum significatione* p. 97: Verba significant, res significantur. Tam etsi & res quandoque etiam significent, ut hieroglyphica apud Horum &Chaeremon, cuius argumenti & nos carmine libellum composuimus, cui titulus est Emblemata.

Published in 1530, the book *De Significatione Verborum* gives transcripts of lectures given by Alciato over the previous eight years or more,[101] and in it Alciato distinguishes three possibilities for the origins of the meaning of words: the first that meaning is conventional or is established by current usage, the next that some words at least have a natural meaning and finally the more mystical idea that words have a magical or symbolic meaning since they can, in some sense, embody the object they describe.[102] Alciato, not surprisingly in view of the narrow focus of his immediate legal audience, came down on the side of practical or conventional usage, although many commentators on Alciato's intentions have used this quotation to show that the origin of the emblem literature is derived from the symbolism of the hieroglyph. This is not necessarily the case. Alciato who is writing about the theory of words and reviewing the subject of symbolism, is emphasizing that there are many types of symbol not merely words, but also "*res*", things, which can act also as symbols or signifiers. One example of such a "thing" is a hieroglyph and another is the emblem as conceived by Alciato. I translate the critical word *argumentum* as line of reasoning; using the same line of reasoning Alciato hopes to show that just as the hieroglyph is a "thing" which stands for something else so is the emblem. In this, Alciato follows the orthodox Thomist line on scriptural interpretation: "the scriptures contain a twofold truth. One lies in the things meant by the words used—that is the literal sense. The other in the way things become figures of other things, and in this consists the spiritual sense."[103] So Alciato is saying here that just as hieroglyphs are symbolic, just as they are signifiers and indicate a secondary meaning, so are the emblems in the *Emblemata*.

Although, as Russell has pointed out,[104] with the translation of the Horapollo, the hieroglyph had entered into the imagination and culture of the Renaissance, the actual use of the hieroglyphs as source material in the emblem literature was quite limited. Rather the reverse occurred; the emblem influenced the manner of presentation, the format, of later publications of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo. When in 1543 the first vernacular edition of Horapollo was published by Kerver it was laid out in the emblem format and thereafter directly or via the world of emblems, the hieroglyph was absorbed into the art and decoration of later centuries.

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101 See D. L. Drysdall, "A Lawyers's Language Theory: Alciato's De Verborum significatione," *Emblematica*, 9, 2, (1995), p. 281.

102 This last interpretation thus approximates most nearly to the understanding of the purpose of the hieroglyph; see the Preface to the present work.

103 See *Quaestiones Quodlibetales* VII, 14, 275 quoted in E. H. Gombrich, *Symbolic Images*, Oxford: Phaidon, 1978 p. 13.

104 D. Russell, "Emblems and Hieroglyphs: Some Observations on the Beginnings and the Nature of Emblematic Forms," *Emblematica*, 1, 2, (1986), pp. 227–243.

3. In the verse dedication to Peutinger in the *Emblemata* of 1531 he writes:

> We in these festive hours create these Emblems,/figures wrought by famous artists hands/To fix badges on clothes or shields on caps/Or write with silent signs … [I call this extract "Dedication"].[105]

"Or write with silent signs." Here again there appears to be an allusion to the hieroglyphs; silent signs [tacitis notis] was certainly a contemporary synonym for the hieroglyphs but we must remember that Alciato's vocabulary was constrained by the meter of the verse and that the phrase silent signs could also describe any kind of writing system. I do not put great store behind the suggestion that hieroglyphs or the mystical aspect of writing as such which was rejected by Alciato himself formed the rationale behind the *Emblemata.*

4. The introduction to the 1549 Bonhomme edition of the *Emblemata* has the following extract which is obviously derived almost word for word from the introduction by Fasanini to his 1515 translation of the Horapollo.[106]

> So this is its application and utility: that, if anyone wishes to make some addition to a bare object or ornament, to unadorned speech or to naked argument he would have in this little book (just as in a well-stocked cabinet) whatever he might wish to write on the walls of his house, the windows, drapes, ceilings, pictures, vases, sculptures, signet rings, clothes, tables, bedsteads, arms, swords and in short, on all the household appliances; and this surely for the purpose that around the exterior of those things serving ones daily needs, there would verbal and visual reminders [I call this extract "Fasanini"].

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105 1577 edition p. 44: "Haec nos festivis, Emblemata cudimus horis,/artificium illustri signaque, facta manu:/Vestibus ut torulos, petasis ut figere parmas,/Et valeat tacitis scribere quisque notis."

106 The passage from Fasanini reads: "From the same little work (the Horapollo) short sayings or notes can be inscribed on swords, rings, bags, belts, lutes, beds, couches, on ceilings, coverlets, doors, in a study, on a table, on mirrors, in a bedroom, under a canopy, on pottery and silver vessels, most of which will be derived from those images, from the secrets of the imagination both in painting and sculpture, which cover or are painted on the walls of houses. And so every person may fully display, as is appropriate, his own maxims and the mottos which are most appropriate to his own affairs." This passage does not appear in the early editions of the *Emblemata* and was not composed by Alciato himself but presumably by the publisher who wished to suggest additional uses for his publication.

The purpose that Alciato had evinced thirty years earlier for his master-work is repeated here in the introduction to the 1549 Bonhomme edition which says in the original:

> Encore tel est l'usaige, & utilité: que toutes & quantesfoys que aulcun vouldra attribuer, ou pour le moins par fiction applicquer aux choses vuydes accomplissement, aux nues aornement, aux muetes parolle, aux brutes raison, il aura en ce petit livre (comme en ung cabinet tresbien garny) tout ce qu'il pourra, & vouldra inscripre, ou pindre aux murailles de la maison, aux verrieres, aux tapis, couvertures, tableaux, vaisseaulx, images, aneaulx, signetz, vestemens, tables, lictz, armes, brief à toute piece & ustensile, & en tous lieux: affin que l'essence des choses appartenantes au commun usage soit en tout.

We know however that the introduction was not written by Alciato since the passage continues by confirming that "Alciato himself" described the origin of the word Emblem so this introduction was written by some one else, no doubt the publisher.

In sum, from this meager evidence, the following appear to be evident: by 1521 Alciato had selected or composed a collection of epigrams as a result of a suggestion from Ambrogio Visconti. The selection was to be used as a model for decorators, that is they were to be suitable for insertion into secondary decorative material and for this reason the collection was given the name *Emblemata*, the classic term for inserted material. Also the epigrams were to be carefully chosen to have a secondary underlying but edifying significance. It appears that Alciato did not set much store by this commission, he did not see any necessity to embellish the text with images and he used some leisure time on a public holiday for his composition, all suggesting that he had no great ambitions for his work and no conception of the popularity it was to achieve.

Excursus 3: On Hoes

It is incorrect to interpret the objects originally hanging from the horns of the ox-skulls as hoes. The origin of the practice of displaying ox-skulls or *bucrania* as decorative elements on buildings and temples in early times goes back to the sacrificial rituals of the early Greeks and Romans. Decorative garlands were placed on the horns of animals about to be sacrificed in the temples and after the sacrifice the actual skulls of these animals were placed on the external frieze of the temple much as today the heads of the animals they have killed are displayed by hunters as trophies. Later, the actual skulls were superceded by sculpted reliefs of the skulls and these then became an ubiquitous decorative motif. A fragment of such a frieze can still be seen today in situ on the Temple of Vespasian in the Forum in Rome accompanied by other objects which

were used during the sacrificial rites.[107] Confirmation of the purpose of these can be seen for instance in the *Mythologiae* of Natali Conti:

> The priests began their prayers and poured wine between the horns of the victims…., then a grain of barley mixed with salt was sprinkled on the victims' backs with water … Then there were more prayers by the priests and the knives for slaying the victims or the axes were prepared as well as a jug of water for washing the hand of the assistants … Hairs were plucked from the victim and tossed onto the fire that was kindled on the altar…. They added incense to the flames and wine from the libation saucers.[108]

Another such frieze with almost identical sacrificial objects is shown on the Arco degli Argentari in Velabro, Rome[109] and on the pieces of the ambone from San Lorenzo fuori le mura now in the Capitoline Museum, described by Volkmann and illustrated in Fig. 5 above, which are the archetypal source of these objects for Renaissance artists. In this case the garlands are clearly not hoes and it is difficult to see how Colonna could have mistaken them if he had also taken these pieces as his source. Nevertheless the first use of the garlands as hoes seems to be the "hieroglyphic" message in the *Hypnerotomachia* on the base of the elephant (fol. c1; see fig. 4) where Colonna interprets the *bucranium* with its garlands as *ex labore*, "from your labor."[110]

> Sacrifice freely from your labor to the God of nature and slowly you will bring back your soul into submission to God, and he will hold firm custody of your life, mercifully guiding you and he will preserve you unharmed.

A variant of this message from fol. c1 is given by Geoffrey Tory in the *Champ Fleury* where he describes a picture he saw on the walls of a house in Rome close to the Orsini Palace on Monte Giordano as follows:

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107 The objects are specified in J. H. Middleton, *The Remains of Ancient Rome*, 1892 vol. 1, p. 340 as the ewer, the libation plate, the holy water sprinkler, the axe, the straight-edge knife, the libation spoon, and the cap of the priest surmounted by a spike.

108 Natali Conti *Mythologiae* Padua: Tozzi, 1616 bk. 1 ch. 10 p. 15. The *Mythologiae* have been translated into English by J. Mulryan and S. Brown as *Natale Conti's Mythologiae*, Tempe: ACMRS, 2006. The greater part of Book 1 of the *Mythologiae* is devoted to a description of various sacrificial rituals.

109 This is described and illustrated in M. Calvesi, *Il sogno di Poliphilo*, Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1980 pp. 97, 143–145 and ill. 31.

110 Later in the *Hypnerotomachia* (fol. h7), in another hieroglyphic message, as Volkmann describes, the skull is shown with branches hanging from it and this has the meaning of "patience."

> an oxhead with two hoes hanging from the horns, then a frog and above that an eye, after that a small cauldron full of fire, the face of a man, a vessel pouring water, violets in a pot, an eye on the sole of a shoe, the anchor of a ship, a crane holding a stone in one of its claws and a dolphin under a lamp which it is holding in one hand.

This text has been interpreted by Charles Dempsey as meaning:

> The labor of man is contemptible in the eye of God. By his divine love for the man who little by little subjects his soul to God, He will take his life in custody and vigilantly preserve it in safety.[111]

Giehlow gives a detailed account of the evidence that Tory was in Rome during the years 1511 to 1517[112] when he could have seen this house or copied the "hieroglyphs" from the temple or the ambone. Apart from this there is no other indication as to whether he saw such a house or whether in fact he did take his inspiration from the *Hypnerotomachia*.

In the English translation of the *Champ Fleury* by George Ives, (New York: Grolier Club, Bruce Rogers, 1927) the hoes are translated as frogs which was a misreading of Tory's text. It is the next item in Tory's list which is a frog. Then there are other illustrations of *bucrania* as emblems of which the most prominent is Achille Bocchi's Symbol 1 from his *Symbolicae Questiones*. This has the motto *Victoria et Labore/Honesta et Utilis* [Victory and Work/Honest and Useful], a poem/subscriptio headed *Symbolum/symbolorum* and it shows the *bucranium* with hoes (fig. 41). Bocchi's Symbolum 147 with the heading Mystical Egyptian Letters has the complete hieroglyphic message of Colonna (fig. 4) including the bucranium with hoes; but Bocchi does not trouble to make an attribution.[113]

Valeriano also comments on the *bucrania* giving his interpretation of the change from the classic use of garlands to that of hoes, namely that the bull has been stripped of its skin and flesh by hard work.[114] These examples in which we have garland, hoe, frog, pine branches in quick succession illustrate the labile and mutable nature of the Renaissance symbol.

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111 See C. Dempsey, "Renaissance Hieroglyphic Studies and Gentile Bellini's Saint Mark Preaching in Alexandria," *Hermeticism and the Renaissance: Intellectual History and the Occult in early modern Europe*, Washington, c. 1988, p. 353.

112 Giehlow p. 119 nt. 63.

113 See Rolet I. 837–850 for an extended analysis of this emblem.

114 Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica*, bk. 3 fol. 27e.

CHAPTER 3

Hieroglyphics North of the Alps

We must now consider the special relationships that were maintained between Italy and France as a result of the French invasion and particularly as a result of the long occupation of Milan. The French fashion for devices combined with Italian emblematics led to new forms, just as by contrast and by the same means, the hieroglyphics of the Italian humanists also became popular in France, where even classical studies had quickly found fertile soil. For bibliophiles it is a particularly congenial fact that a very obvious intermediary was available, a man who, at the time, was one of the most famous lovers and collectors of good and beautiful books. This was Jean Grolier, who had just arrived with the French army in Milan.

Jean Grolier de Servier, Vicomte d'Anguisy who was born in 1479 in Lyon and died in 1565 in Paris, was paymaster-general from 1510–13 [of the French armies in Italy] and at the same time political ambassador in Milan and Rome.[1]

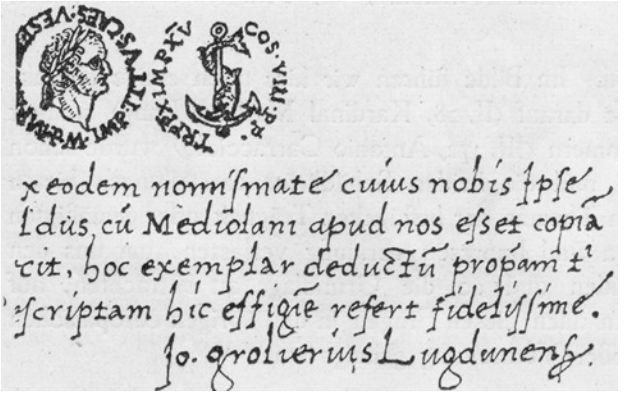
xeodem nomiſmate cuius nobis ipſe
Idus cū Mediolani apud nos eſset copia
cit, hoc exemplar deductū propam t
ſcriptam hic effigie refert fideliſſme.
Jo. grolierius Lugdunenſ.

FIGURE 57 *Sign and Marginal Note of Jean Grolier in the Adages of Erasmus. From the Revue des Bibliothèques VI.*

1 It is now accepted that Jean Grolier was born in 1489–90. He was appointed Treasurer General of Milan in September 1509 suceeding his father Etienne Grolier, who had died in late summer 1509 (his will is dated July 15th 1509). This appointment is confirmed by a letter from King Louis XII to Jean Grolier dated 15th September 1509 now in the archives of the Grolier Club in New York City.

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His literary interests soon brought him into personal contact with the greatest scholars, and his generosity—he provided guests with gold-filled gloves after a meal—was repaid by humanists with the dedication of numerous works to him. These included the *Antiquae lectiones* of Caelius Rhodiginus (see above p. 56), and at the discussions in these meetings the talk was of details of the hieroglyphs and in particular of Horapollo and Chaeremon—but Chaeremon always meant, as we saw, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*! Certainly Grolier must have discussed with Rhodiginus all these questions, and knew especially that these two basic works on the science of hieroglyphics would also have a decisive influence in France. Grolier was a friend of Aldus Manutius and it was quite a festive event when the latter came to Milan and visited the local circle of scholars. Of this visit in 1508, documentary evidence exists in the form of a manuscript drawing and sidenote by Grolier from a copy of the *Adages* of Erasmus in his possession; he uses the Titus coin, with the anchor and dolphin, which Pietro Bembo had given to Aldus, and Grolier remarks that Aldus himself had shown it to him during his visit to Milan.[2]

The commentary of Erasmus on the printer's mark of Aldus which is depicted at the edge of this note and the origins of the sign which he describes in detail will be discussed later. There can be no doubt that Grolier, who was introduced into the court of Louis XII and Francis I and who later, in Paris, held high office as Treasurer-General of France, broadened the knowledge of hieroglyphics in French society. He adorned the splendid volumes of his famous library with the imprint: *Jo Grolierii et amicorum* [Belonging to Jean Grolier and friends] and this was actually not just an empty phrase. Naturally the *Poliphili* also played an important role. It is certain that the influence of that remarkable book appeared in France from an early date. In his *Etudes Aldines*, which I have already cited several times, Léon Dorez provided the clearest evidence of this from the miniatures of a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (ms. franç. 12247), which were executed around 1515 for Louise of Savoie, the mother of Francis I and which includes a *Traité de la grandeur et excellence de la Vertu* [Treatise on the grandeur and excellence of Virtue]. In this can be found, executed quite freely, a very obvious development and extension of the woodcuts of the *Hypnerotomachia*. First, there is the ship, out of which rises a spire, with a winged weather vane, just like in the *Hypnerotomachia* on fol. e5, on top of which there is a trumpeting genius denoting of course the author

2 Ex eodem nomismate cujus nobis ipse Aldus, cum Mediolani apud nos esset, copiam fecit, hoc exemplar deductum propriam et inscriptam hic effigiem refert fidelissime Jo Grolierius Lugdunensis. See de Grouchy, *A propos d'un livre de Jean Grolier*, Paris, 1894, and Léon Dorez, "La Marque d'Alde," *Ètudes Aldines I, Revue des Bibliothèques*, VI (1896) p. 147 (V).

FIGURE 58 *Louise de Savoie, Mother of Francis I as Prudence. Miniature in Manuscript. Franç. 12.247 Paris, Bibl. Nationale—From the Revue des Bibliothèques VI.*

who balances on one foot and writes his treatise at the same time. The anchor, however, by which the ship is attached to the shore, is wound round with a dolphin as in the *Hypnerotomachia*, fol. d7, and certainly has the same hieroglyphic meaning, namely "Festina tarde."[3]

Next can be seen a full page portrait of Louise of Savoie in mourning showing the princess in a landscape with the Hubertus stag[4] denoting "Prudence";

3 "Tarde" is of course a synonym for "lente" the more usual adverb.

4 The Hubertus stag commemorates the story of St. Hubert (656–715) who was converted to Christianity while out hunting when he saw a stag with a crucifix between his horns. This story is however conflated with the identical story of St. Eustace from the second century. He

her right hand holds a compass as a symbol of wisdom—the future marque of the great publisher Plantin—while in her left she carries a round shield, which is an exact replica of the *Hypnerotomachia* hieroglyph in the first circular image of the obelisk, fol. p6 (see fig. 11). Here, too, can be seen the figures of strict justice and generosity denoting the assurance of proper rule. There are also found allegorical figures of various Virtues that are interspersed in the text as small medallions, some just copied, together with their accompanying attributes, from the *Hypnerotomachia*. For instance, "Circumspection", reproduced from the fourth round image on the obelisk (fig. 14) with the substitution of a female figure for the Trophies, as well as the Virtues, "Docility" and "Providence," for which only ornamental motifs are used. Thus there is already here an independent development of the hieroglyphs of Colonna and even stronger evidence of the extent to which it can be assumed that they were present in the universal consciousness, even if in these courtly circles there was only a slight grasp of what was in fact a free variation of them. This should not be a big surprise for us if we remember that Castiglione mentions in his *Cortegiano* that the cavaliers of the time entertained their ladies ad nauseam with phrases from the *Hypnerotomachia*.[5] Particularly in France, by the way, there were special attempts to create allegorical representations of the virtues and the vices etc. by means of a female figure, with old hieroglyphic symbols as her attributes. The original binding of our manuscript was also adorned with miniatures, which are now located inside the new cover; they show just such allegorical figures, namely "Prudence," overcoming a dragon; "Force", holding a chained lion and a club; "Temperance," depicted by a unicorn, and "Justice" with a staff, in addition to the well-known symbol of a crane with a stone in its claw, which here as usual means Vigilance. Thus there certainly existed, especially in the miniatures of the time, many similar instances of this kind if you know where to look.

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was a Roman general named Placidus who also was converted to Christianity when he saw a stag in similar circumstances. Dürer's print of St. Eustace and the stag is deemed to be one of his greatest.

5 "Ché già ho io conosciuti alcuni, che, scrivendo e parlando a donne, usano sempre parole di Polifilo, e tanto stanno in su la sottilità di sé stesse, e si tengon per ignorantissime, e par loro un ora mill'anni finir quell ragionamento, e levarsegli davanti." [I have known some who, when writing and speaking to women, always use Polifilian language, and are such in the subtleties of their rhetoric, that the women are weary of themselves and believe themselves ignorant and an hour seems like a thousand years before the discourse will end and they can depart.] B. Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, (ed. M. Vittorio Cian), Florence: Sansoni, 1894, pp. 342–3.

FIGURE 60
Miniature in Manuscript. Franç. 12.247 Paris, Bibl. Nationale—From the Revue des Bibliothèques VI.

Now we should discuss the hieroglyphs: the *Horapollo* and the *Hypnerotomachia* were the most important sources for knowledge of this genre as was a man who was one of the most interesting examples of French humanism and was also intimately related to the world of books. This was Geoffroy Tory, an individual who was simultaneously an excellent scholar, printer, publisher and wood engraver. He was born around 1480 in Bourges and towards the beginning of the sixteenth century was a student at the Sapienza in Rome. Later in Bologna he attended the lectures of Filippo Beroaldo whose commentary on Apuleius and his related hieroglyphic studies were mentioned above. Returning to France, he engaged in the study of classical literature in Paris and also met with local publishers especially the humanist Henri Estienne who was active in the publication of both ancient and modern authors. It is significant that at this time (1511) Tory came across the *Antiquitates Variae* of Annius of Viterbo (see above p. 26), whose fantastic forgeries he probably accepted without comment. He even made use of Alberti's *De Architectura* and there is evidence of his knowledge of Alberti's hieroglyphic aspirations from the marginal note, "Hieroglyphica," he made in the chapter on inscriptions on gravestones (VIII, 4) although actually Alberti himself speaks only of "*signa Aegyptia*."[6]

6 This is from the second edition of the *De Architectura* and the first printed in France (Paris: Rembolt, 1512).

Later he turned to drawing and wood-cutting, which led him again to Italy for a year, and in 1518 he established himself as a bookseller in Paris, "sur le Petit-Pont, à l'enseigne du pot cassé" [On the Petit-Pont, at the sign of the broken pot]. His sign was thus a broken vase, the meaning of which I describe in detail below.[7] Soon he was working as a printer, himself making translations from Greek and Latin, and creating ornaments and illustrations for books. In addition to the material he printed, he designed many of the printer's marks and devices used by the publishers of the time. He was then given by Francis I the newly—created title *Imprimeur du roi* [Royal Printer][8] so thereafter and to the last he was able to devote himself entirely to this art. He died in Paris in 1533.

His theoretical efforts to reform the French language and the printing type he designed were contained in a very strange little book which appeared in 1529 (reprinted in 1549) and which bears the title:

> Champ Fleury, auquel est contenu Art et Science de la deue et vray proportion des Lettres Attique, quon dit autrement Lettres Antiques, et vulgairement Lettres Romaines, proportionnées selon le corps et visage humain [Champ Fleury, in which is contained the Art and Science of the proper and true proportion of Attic Letters otherwise called Antique Letters and in common parlance Roman Letters, proportioned according to the human body and face]

and into this he wove some important remarks on hieroglyphs.[9] After a study of the proportion of Roman letters, devised, as he says, according to the shape of the human body and face, he comes to picture writing, rebus, devices, etc. and then says on page 42^{v} in his old French:

> Telle facon de Resverie, Cest a dire descripture faicte par Images, fut premierement inventee des Egyptiens qui en avoient toutes leurs Cerimonies escriptes, afin que le vulgaire, & les ignares ne peussent entendre, ne facilement scavoir leurs secrets & mysteres. Celles escriptures estoient appellee en Grec Hieroglyphica. Cest a dire: Sacra scripta, Saintes escriptures, que nul ne pouvoit entender sans etre grant Philosophe, & qui peult cognoistre la raison et vertu des choses naturelles. Quant ilz vouloient signifier L'an, ilz deseignoient et faisoient en pourtraict ou painture,

7 See p. 140.

8 Tory was created Royal Printer specifically as a result of the publication of the Champ Fleury.

9 "Champ Fleury" had the contemporary general meaning of "Paradise" equivalent to the Elysian Fields.

> ung Dragon se mordant la queue. Pour signifier Liberalite ilz faisoient la main dextre ouverte. Et pour Chichete [Avarice], la main close. Ilz faisoient mille choses bonnes aultre semblable par images, que vous pourrez lire & cognoistre au XXV Chapitre [of the 16th book] des lecons antiques de Caelius Rhodiginus, & plus aplain en Orus Apollo qui les a redigees par escript, en ung volume que porres trouver en grec, si le y volez, & en latin aussi, & lequel jay translate en Francois, & feiet ung present a ung mien seigneur & bon amy. [This way of understanding, that is to say a description in images, was first invented by the Egyptians who used it for all their secret ceremonies so that the ordinary people and the ignorant would not be able to understand it nor easily decipher their secrets and mysteries. This script is called in Greek *hieroglyphica*, that is to say, *sacra scripta*, sacred writing, which no one could understand without being a great philosopher as well as being someone who could understand the significance and the virtue of natural things. When they wished to signify the year, they drew or made a picture or painting of a snake biting its tail. To signify Liberality, they drew an open right hand and for Avarice a closed hand. They depicted a thousand other similar excellent things by means of images which you can read and understand in the XXV chapter (of the 16th book) of the *Antiquae Lectiones* of Caelius Rhodiginus [see p. 56 above] and even more in Horapollo who compiled them in writing in a volume which you can find in Greek, or in Latin if you wish, and which I translated into French and presented to my Lord and good friend].

It is no coincidence that he named Caelius Rhodiginus above and that he dedicated the work to Jean Grolier, who must also have been involved in some way. And he was so devoted to the Horapollo that he even translated it and dedicated it to a highly placed patron. Who this was is unfortunately just as uncertain as to whether his translation appeared in one of the later French editions.[10]

As regards Devices, just before the above extract, he explains as follows:

> Les Devises qui ne sont faictes par lettres significatives, sont faictes dimages qui signifient la fantasie de son Autheur, & cela est appele ung Resbuz au quel on a resue, & faict on resuer les autres. Telz images sont ou hommes ou femmes, bestes, oyseaux, poissons & autres choses corporelles & materielles [Devices which are not made by signifying letters but from

10 This translation has never been found although it is suggested by Brunon, "Signe, figure, langage: Les *Hieroglyphica* d'Horapollo," *L'Emblème à la Renaissance* (ed. Yves Giraud), Paris SEDES/CDU, 1982) that it is the rather poor translation of the Kerver edition of 1543.

FIGURE 61
Printers Mark of Geoffroy Tory, Paris.

> images which signify the fantasy of the author, and these are called rebuses, upon which one can meditate and cause others to meditate. Such images are either men or women, beasts, birds and other corporeal and material entities].

He thus equates devices and imprese with picture puzzles, and the examples that he gives belong actually to the field of word and letter puzzles, and also those Italian phrases which are derived from Greek, such as MΦΔMΛ for "Mi fidelta mi lauda,"[11] etc. And then he gives the explanation of his own device:

> Puisque je suis descendu en propos des devises, Resbuz, & escriptures hierogliphiques, je veulx icy declarer ma devise & Marque, pource que je y voy Maintz personnages estre desirans de l 'entender [Since I have come to the subject of devices, rebuses and hieroglyphic writing, I wish to explain here my own device and mark because I know that many are desirous of understanding it].

The broken vase which is taken from a woodcut in the *Hypnerotomachia*[12] means the body and the inserted object is a "Toret," which relates to the name

11 This is a rather weak rebus. Mu for mi, fi, delta, mu, lambda for lauda!

12 Also the woodcut on page 30 [of Tory], the Triumph of Apollo, is derived from the Poliphili (v). However, in the *Hypnerotomachia* there are four Triumphs described and illustrated

Tory and is synonymous with *treuil*, that is, an axle or a winch and which means fate. Similarly the symbolism of the other components of the mark—the flowers, the chains, the book, etc.—are also explained in detail[13] as is the motto *Non Plus* meaning *Nil Nimis* [Nothing too much]. Then he next mentions the mark of Aldus, of which he says:

> Alde le Romain, Imprimeur a Veniz, avoit Sa marque Hieroglyphique, mais il ne pas lavoit inventee, en tant quil lavolt empruntee de la devise de Cesar Auguste, la source estoit en Grec: *Σπεῦδε βραδέως* qui est a dire en Latin, *Festina lente.* [Aldus the Roman,[14] Printer at Venice, has his hieroglyphic mark, but he did not invent it in as much as he borrowed the device from Augustus Caesar, the motto being in Greek, *Σπεῦδε βραδέως*, that is to say in Latin, *Festina Lente*, Hurry, slowly]

and after a short description he turns to the detailed explanation by Erasmus in Chiliad. II, i of the *Adages*.[15] On page 73 he comes back from the topic of fantastic fonts to discuss hieroglyphs again, about which he expresses himself in a similar manner as before and he also cites Horapollo again. He then gives a very curious report on the content of some hieroglyphic frescos which he had seen in a house in Rome, on Monte Giordano, near the Palazzo Orsini[16] and it becomes apparent that he thought they were symbols of ancient Egyptian wisdom. You can see on the walls of this house, he says:

> Une teste de Beuf, ayant pendu aux deux cornes deux houes, puis une grenoille et au dessus d'elle ung oueil, en apres une chaufrette pleine de feu ung visage d'homme, ung vaisseau vuydant de l'eau, des violets en ung pot, ung oueil sus une sole de soulier, une ancre de navire, une grue tenant une pierre de l'ung de ses pieds et ung daulphin sus une lampe qui est tenu d'une main. [an ox-skull with a hoe hanging from each of the two horns, then a frog and above it an eye then a fire in a cauldron, the face of

(fols. k4 ff.). None of them have more than a general resemblance to the Triumph of Apollo depicted in the *Champ Fleury*. The broken vase is on folio p5 of the *Hypnerotomachia*.

13 Tory's detailed interpretation of the symbolism of his mark continues for approximately twenty more lines.

14 Aldus would often sign himself and include his signature in versions of his mark as Aldus M. R. (Aldus Manutius Romanus]. He was apparently very proud of the fact that he was born in Rome.

15 Erasmus' entry in his Adages for the proverb *Festina Lente.*

16 One of the Roman palaces of the great Orsini family. It still exists in an altered form.

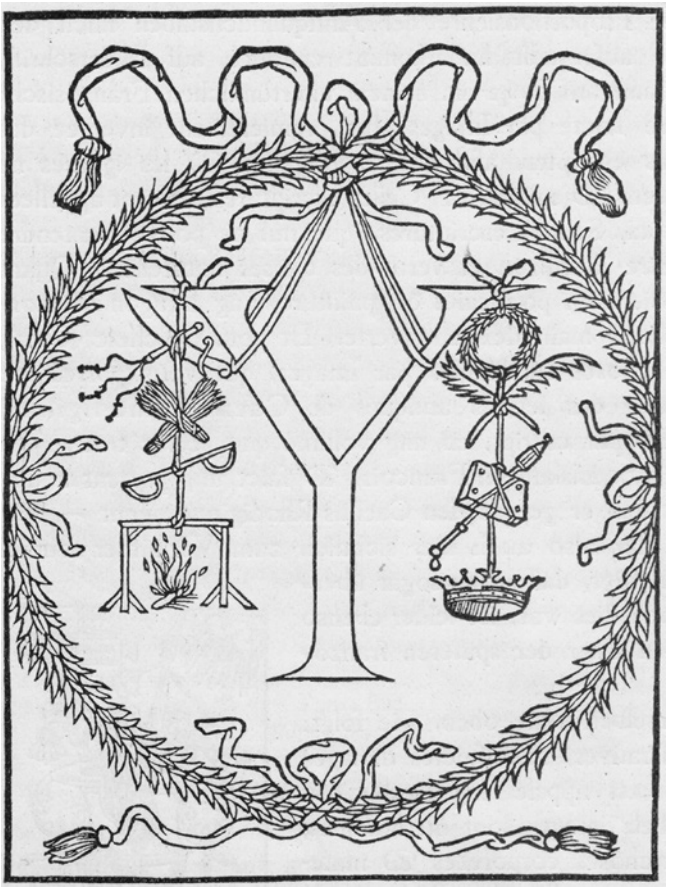

FIGURE 62 *Geoffroy Tory, Champfleury. Moralised Y.*

> a man, a vessel emptying water, some violets in a pot, an eye on the sole of a shoe, the anchor of a ship, a crane holding a stone in one of its feet and a dolphin under a lamp which is held by a hand].

The relationship of these descriptions with the hieroglyphs on Colonna's page c1 (fig. 4) comes immediately to mind: the ox-skull with two hoes on its horns,[17] the altar with flames (which he misinterprets), the sandal with an eye, the anchor, the dolphin and the lamp held by a hand, all these are matches, which cannot be accidental but rather indicate a direct relationship, although we have been unable to determine which was the original and which was a copy. After

17 See Excursus 3 p. 130.

all Giehlow's own belief was that the paintings were not as old as Tory thought, since a sense of historical criticism was only beginning to emerge at the time and there was very little understanding of style. The murals could quite probably have been suggested by the illustrations of Colonna, which in turn go back in part to the ancient frieze now located in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 5). The motifs not occurring in Colonna, such as the frogs, reeds, human face and the crane with a stone would then have been added later from other common hieroglyphic symbols. In any case the example speaks to both the manifold use of hieroglyphics in Italy and to the lively interest that Tory took in these matters. And as if the relationship with the *Hypnerotomachia* had not by now been completely clarified, Tory now immediately emphasises it as he continues—he cites next the beginning of the Latin Horapollo entry on "*Aevum*" [Eternity] using the French translation and then continues:

> Je reviens donc a nos Lettres fantastiques, & dis que l'imitation & maniere des escriptures Egyptienne elles sont faictes par Sinacles & Images, mais elles ne sont pas faictes par raison de Philosophie naturelle, comme les dictes Egyptiennes, [I return then to our fantastic letters and say that, in imitation of and in the manner of Egyptian script, they are constructed of signs and images but they are not made as in natural philosophy like the sayings of the Egyptians].

Then he continues with some examples from Rome describing a piece of porphyry with hieroglyphs engraved on it which he had seen "devant le front de la ronde Notre Dame" [in front of the Pantheon]. He closes with the words:

> si vous avez desir d'en veoir a la maniere des Egyptiens, vous en trouverez en Polyphilie de belles & biens faictes en beaucoup de bons passages. [If you wish to see more in the manner of the Egyptians, you will find many beautiful and well fashioned examples in the *Hypnerotomachia*].

He shows here very explicitly that he recognized Colonna as a complete source and model for real and indeed beautiful Egyptian hieroglyphs. Tory now continues very systematically to expand and exhaust his theme by using his own comprehensive erudition and pointing to the "Utopian letters"[18] of Sir Thomas More and the various cipher texts of the circle of his acquaintance.

18 The language of Utopia described in Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). A brief example of the language is given in the addendum to Utopia. Written in Latin, the book was not published in English until 1551.

But the extent to which he always relies on a hieroglyphic interpretation is clearly seen from the figure on page 63. There he describes the letter Y as the "Pythagorean letter,"[19] of which the left arm symbolizes the path of vice and the right that of virtue. He then gives two interpretations of such a "moralized" letter and makes use of a visual language that is entirely in the spirit of Renaissance hieroglyphics. In the first he depicts hanging from the left arm of the Pythagorean Y a sword, a whip, rod bundles, yoke, gallows, and a woodpile, symbolizing that hardship and evil follow from desire. From the right arm hangs a laurel wreath, some palm branches, a scepter and a crown, showing that virtue is rewarded with honor. The second example is *moralisé à l'antique* [moralised from the antique]; it shows on the right the three wild animals of Dante:[20] Invidia, Superbia, Libido, and a thorny ascent to virtue; however, on the left there is a pleasant stairway leading to an appetising repast but on the other side of the arm a sudden crash into a lake of fire. Such images were not without successors in the book arts (see for instance fig. 114) which is why they are briefly considered here.

Further evidence for the diffusion of hieroglyphs and emblems in France, in a place where they might not have been suspected, is provided in *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* by the great French satirist Rabelais. The latter displays the liveliest interest in these subjects to the extent that he even mocks their excesses. Born around 1495 (not 1483, as is usually stated)[21] in Chinon, Touraine, he became a Franciscan monk, then a Benedictine, but was such a nuisance during his classical studies in the monastery of Fontenay that his books were removed and he was then expelled. But thereafter influential patrons allowed him a freer life than he had had in the spiritual world and he continued by studying medicine in Montpellier but without abandoning his humanist interests. From 1532 he lived in Lyon where he edited scientific works and almanachs for local publishers and it was of particular importance for him that Lyon had become the center for the spread of humanism in France as a result of the Italian publishers who settled there and the French publishers who

19 The Pythagorean Y represents the choice between good and evil which we are faced with throughout life. The story goes back according to Xenophon (*Memorabilia* 2.1.21) in the words of Socrates to the fifth century philosopher and sophist Prodicus who tells of how Hercules as a young man was tempted by the female personifications of Virtue and Vice and then chooses the virtuous road.

20 At the beginning of the Inferno, Dante is threatened by three animals, a leopard, a lion, and a wolf. The symbolism of these animals has never been definitively established and different commenators have given different meanings to them.

21 The precise date of Rabelais' birth is still not known for certain but is now usually accepted as 1494.

brought out editions by Italian scholars in the original or in French translation. Rabelais was also a friend of the French humanist Budė (Budaeus) and he must have been inspired in Lyon by hieroglyphics, a topic which was then reflected in the text of the *Gargantua.* In the years 1534 and 1536–37 he went with the French ambassador, Cardinal du Bellay, to Rome, where he again pursued his classical interests and later served as a popular physician and teacher in various southern French cities, most recently as a canon in St. Maur. In 1550, he was again in Rome, became pastor in 1551 in Meudon and died in 1553 in Paris. The sources for the hieroglyphic extracts in his works are mostly the *Horapollo* and the *Hypnerotomachia* and no doubt he also knew Tory's *Champ Fleury*, as is shown by the similarity of some of the text in both books.[22] His great masterpiece with its numerous personal allusions brought him strong criticism and was published only with great difficulty in spite of the royal "privileges" he obtained. I have used the translation by Gottlob Regis (Leipzig, 1839) that reflects the tone of the original quite well. Early on in the eighth chapter of the first book, "On the clothes of Gargantua" there is mentioned an emblematical piece on the hero's cap:

> On this medallion was a gold plate of a weight of sixty-eight marks, on which was embossed a human body with two heads, one turned towards the other, four arms, four legs and two behinds, since as Plato says in the Symposium that the origin of mankind was mysterious, therefore there is written with ionic letters: ΑΓΑΠΗ ΟΥ ΖΗΤΕΙ ΤΑ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ [=εαυτής] (love seeks not her own).[23]

We should remember here the remarks of Benvenuto Cellini about such a hat badge; Cellini himself remained for a long period in France, and in book III, chapter 6[24] of his autobiography he tells how in 1534 he included the salamander, the emblem of the king, in an architectural relief for Francis I with allegorical figures. The main point, however, is found in Gargantua book I, chapter 9, "Of Gargantua's colors and costumes" (livrées et couleurs)—the colors of Gargantua, white and blue, as we learn there, symbolize heavenly joy. The reader might criticize this since white generally means good faith and

22 See for instance bk. II ch. 6. of Pantagruel where Rabelais copies almost verbatim a passage from the *Avis au lecteur* by Tory. See Boas p. 38, nt. 23.

23 I Corinthians 13. Volkmann refers to Gargantua's hat-badge in two other passages below on page 216 in which he discusses the equivalent passage in the *Geschichtsklitterung* of Fischart. The whole topic is summarized in Excursus 6 p. 229.

24 In modern editions this reference is in Part II chapter 21 of Cellini's autobiography.

blue constancy, as defined in the famous book *Le Blason des couleurs en armes, livrees et divises*[25] [The exposition of colors in arms, liveries and devices]. Rabelais explains this in rather a foolish manner and then goes on:

> in a similar darkness and mist of ignorance are wrapped all these vainglorious courtiers and name-jugglers, who, in their devices, signify espoir (that is, hope) by portraying a round opening or a hop-pole,[26] a leg[27] for torment, the herb anchovy for melancholy, a crescent moon to show improving fortune, a broken bench to signify bankruptcy, the word 'not' and a coat of chainmail for "un dur habit" [a hard garment] (that is *non durabit*, it shall not last), a *lit sans ciel*, that is, a bed without a canopy, for a "licenciat," a graduate, all of which are such absurd and witless homonyms, so barbarous and clownish, that a fox's tail should be fastened to the author's collar, and a mask made of cowdung given to anyone that henceforth should offer, after the restitution of learning, to make use of any such fopperies in France. With equal reason (if I might call it reason and not madness) I could have a basket (panier) painted as a sign that I am in pain, a pot of mustard to show my heart should not stop,[28] and a chamber-pot for an official.[29] The back of my pants would be a jar of wind, my cod-piece a strong lance, and the shit of a dog the casket where my lady's love lies.[30]

After he had scoffed heartily at these silly puns, which in France had found a wide circulation, he puts the real hieroglyphs in sharp contrast and continues:

> For otherwise the sages of Egypt did in the ancient days, when they wrote by letters, which they called hieroglyphs, which none understood

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25 Written probably in the middle of the 15th century. The 1890 edition (Paris: Aubry) edited by H. Cocheris has a good introduction. The title of this book reminds us of the close relationship between liveries and colors. Many aristocratic families had their recognizable combination of colors which they jealously guarded. The whole was bound up in the concept of *foggie*, translated as forms or shapes, for which see p. 87 nt. 9.

26 Thus in Volkmann but Rabelais just has "sphere".

27 Thus in Volkmann but Rabelais has "penne'" more likely meaning feather.

28 In Rabelais "moult tarde" a contraction of "moulte ne tarde," (do not much delay), but the reference to the heart is unexplained.

29 Because this furniture provides a useful office.

30 Rabelais' pun is 'estronc' and 'tronc' and Volkmann's almost as good 'März-Schwein' and 'Herzens-Schrein.'

> [who did not understand them and only those understood][31] who did understand the virtue, property, and nature of the things represented by them.[32] Of which Orus Apollon has in Greek composed two books, and Polyphilus, in his Dream of Love, set down more. In France you have a taste of them in the device of my Lord Admiral, which was borne in earlier times by Octavian.[33]

The "Admiral" is Guillaume Gouffier, called "l'Amiral Bonnivet" who fell at Pavia in 1525.[34] His tomb in the chapel of Oiron bears on the base in the middle of the front an anchor, encircled by a dolphin, with the words "Festina lente" on a ribbon; located on both sides of this device is a snake biting its tail symbolizing world or eternity after Horapollo. Jean Juste (Giusti), the maker of the tomb was a Tuscan and he probably knew the treatise of Erasmus on the development of the mark of Aldus (fig. 11 in Dorez cit.).[35] From this you can see once again how closely hieroglyphics and devices or imprese were linked.

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31 Volkmann omits the words in parentheses in his translation which spoils the parody of Rabelais. See the French original below in nt. 33.

32 This not only reveals Rabelais' familiarity with Horapollo and Colonna but is also a cynical comment on Geoffrey Tory who in the third book of his *Champ Fleury* under the letter G says: "These writings were called in Greek *Hieroglyphica* that is to say *sacra scripta*, sacred writings, which no one could understand without being a great philosopher, and one who could grasp the meaning and qualities of natural things." For further discussion of the relationship between Rabelais and Tory, see Denis Drysdall, "The Hieroglyphs at Bologna," *Emblematica*, 2. 2, 1987, p. 233.

33 The last important sentence reads in the original; Bien aultremeot faisoient entemps jadis les Saiges de Egypte, quand ils escripvoieot qu'il par lettres appeloient Hierogyphiques. Lesquelles nul n'entendoit qui n'entendist, et ung chiascun entendoit qui entendist la vertu, propriété et nature des choses par icelies figurees, desquelles Orus Apollo ha en Grec composé deux livres et Polyphile au Songe d'amours en a davantaige exposé. En France vous en avez quelque transon en la divise de M. l'Amiral: laquelle premier porta Octavian Auguste (**V**).

34 There is a hint in the dedicatory letter to the first French translation of the *Emblemata* of Alciato that Rabelais meant Gouffier's successor as Admiral of France, Philippe Chabot, a friend of King Francis 1st himself and this is confirmed in the commentary by Claude Mignault (Minos) in later editions of the *Emblemata*. On the other hand it is difficult to deny the fact that the tomb of Gouffier has the mark as described and the commentary in the 1823 Paris edition of Rabelais' *Works* favours Gouffier.

35 For the avoidance of doubt, Dorez wrote two consecutive articles both of which are cited in the Bibliography. The picture of Gouffier's tomb (Fig. 11 in Dorez cited above) is between the two articles on page 238.

In the commentary of Regis (Vol. II, p. 53) we find in Rabelais' own notes to Pantagruel the following detailed explanation of the word hieroglyph:

> Hieroglyphs, sacred sculptures, as the letters of the ancient Egyptians are called, were derived from images of trees, herbs, animals, fish, birds and tools, which expressed by their nature and their purpose what they meant. In this way the device of the Lord Admiral can be interpreted: an anchor, a very weighty implement, and a dolphin, the quickest fish of all animals in the world: a device which was derived from Octavian Augustus, by which he used to say: hurry with care, proceed with enthusiasm, that is, go forward but do not forget your purpose. Orus Apollo wrote about this during Greek times and Pierre [sic] Colonna depicted several of them in his Tuscan piece, entitled Hypnerotomachia Polyphili.[36]

There is also reference to the *Hypnerotomachia* in the description of the Isles of the Macreons in *Pantagruel*, book IV, chapter 25:

> At our request the old Makrobe showed us everything that was worth seeing and of importance on the island, and led us into a deserted, shaded forest to some ancient, ruined temples, obelisks, pyramids, ancient monuments and tombs with various inscriptions and epitaphs, some in hieroglyphic characters, others in the Ionic language.

One can compare this with the illustration from the *Hypnerotomachia*, fol. 3^{v}.[37] More than once in fact we find echoes of the imagery of the Italian work, as, for instance, when Rabelais gives an obscene meaning to the charm against the poisonous horn of the unicorn. In book III, chapter 38 under the many honorary titles for a fool that Pantagruel and Panurge give Triboullet, he includes allegorical and hieroglyphical names, or when he adopts in book IV, chapter 24[38] "the well-known puzzle by Masuccio[39] of the ring with the false diamond ("Di, Amante falso …") and then describes different kinds of secret writing.

He still uses the word "emblem" in its original meaning as a mosaic, for example, Pantagruel V, 38: "As the temple pavement (in Laternien) was beautifully decorated with emblematic images," that is, mosaic work of precious stones with representations of vine leaves, snails, lizards, birds and the like;

36 This note can also be read in the 1823 edition of Rabelais' *Works*, vol. 6 p. 240 nt. 10.

37 The reference here is to the huge pyramid in Poliphili, fol. b1.

38 The correct reference is bk. 2, ch. 24.

39 For a further reference to Masuccio's *Novellino*; see p. 108 above.

another example is in chapter 40, headed: "How good Bacchus' attack on the Indians was emblematically [en l'emblemature] portrayed," and then in the same chapter: "Finally, there was emblematically depicted the tropaeum[40] and column of the victory of good Bacchus." The fact that it was also a representation of Egypt with all its animals is indicative of the interest that was taken in the mysterious homeland of hieroglyphics.

Finally, a very unusual relationship between number and finger sign language from Pierio Valeriano is shown in the second book of Pantagruel, chapters 18/19, where Panurge's debate with the English character, Thaumaste, is described. He states that he does not dispute by declaration, nor by numbers, like Pythagoras and Pico della Mirandola, but only by signs which are primarily shown by different positions of the fingers. Without examining in detail the much debated problem of these characters, in principle they are very similar to the finger signs which are noted in the 37th book of Valeriano. These in turn are partly based on the book of the Englishman, the Venerable Bede, the *De numeris et signis*,[41] which Pantagruel and Panurge were then ready diligently "to expound." From such apparently strange existing connections that can only be understood by describing them fully, let's take just one example: at the beginning Thaumaste pinches together his fingertips into a figure, "the one called the chickenbum." According to the commentary of Regis, a scholiast explains this as follows: "Les doigts des deux mains, reunis en cul de poufs, designent l'union conjugale, l'acte de mariage" [The fingers of the two hands, joined in the shape of a chickenbum, signifies the conjugal union, the act of marriage]. But in Valeriano we read:

> XXX, Triginta,... in denario, indicabantur, et indice et pollice adapertis, ita tamen, ut utriusque ungues ad osculum quodammodo coirent blando, inquit, amplexu Bede ... Est vero numerus tricenarius nuptiarum hieroglyphicum, ut sacri Evangeliorum interpretes super Matthaeo affirmant, quod non multum abest ab eo numero per quem Aegyptii maritalem copulam, sive, ut apud Horum est, maris et foeminae congressum significabant" [30, Thirty, in money was indicated, with both the index finger and thumb uncovered, so, however, both fingers come together in a pleasant way for a kiss, he says, expanding on Bede. Indeed the number

40 A tropaeum or tropaion was a monument erected by the Greeks and then the Romans on the field of battle to commemorate a victory.

41 Presumably Rabelais and Volkmann refer here to Bede's *De Schematibus et Tropis* or the *De Temporum Ratione* in the first chapter of which Bede describes a sign language using the hands to communicate numbers.

> thirty is the hieroglyph of marriage, something the sacred interpreters of the Evangelists affirm in Matthew, and this is not far removed from that number by which the Egyptians signify marital intercourse, or, as in Horapollo, the congress of husband and wife.][42]

(According to 1 Horapollo, 32/33 this number was XXXII, since the number sixteen specifically meant lust since at such an age desire awakens and therefore twice sixteen is the double pleasure of man and woman, that is the conjugal union). Of course, Rabelais in chapter 20 finishes his parody with the remark.

> I would have expounded to you the significance of the propositions set out by Thaumaste, and the meaning of the signs which they used in their contest, but I am told that Thaumaste has made a great book of them, printed in London, in which he explains absolutely everything. Therefore I will let the matter rest for now.

If in this Rabelais reveals himself again as a satirist, yet these obvious echoes of the *Hieroglyphica* are noteworthy and perhaps a more detailed comparison with Valeriano's text on this subject would help to explain this obscure passage.

However, I do not think that the wonderful book of caricatures, which is linked to the name of Rabelais, has anything to do with hieroglyphics. The title is*: Les songes drolatiques de Pantagruel, ou sont plusieurs figures contenu de l'invention de Maistre Francois Rabelais*, Paris 1565, R. Breton and published in a new edition with commentary by E. Johanneau and Esmangart (Variorum Ed, Vol. 9, 1823) in which there are 120 woodcut caricatures alluding to unnamed individuals and which make the whole thing like a "hieroglyphic version" of the novel.[43] These are indeed fantastic "Drolleries." in the style of Bosch or Höllenbrueghel,[44] freely inspired by the so-called "Silenus" of the prologue.[45]

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42 As Volkmann says, this Latin quotation is taken word for word from Valeriano bk. 37. It is tempting to think that the "chickenbum" allusion is a pun by Rabelais between the Latin pollex (thus pollice) meaning thumb and pullus a chick.

43 Although included in the 1823 edition of Rabelais' *Complete Works*, it is now believed that this work was not by Rabelais. The illustrations however make it one of the greatest series of satirical cartoons in literature. Each illustration in the 1823 edition is accompanied by a commentary relating it to a character in the novel but again these attributions are not now accepted. There was also a second edition of the *Songes Drolatiques* published by Malapeau in 1797.

44 Pieter Brueghel the Younger.

45 Johannes Fischart knew these pictures and refers to them in relation to his mention of the Silenus, see below (**V**). Silenus was of course the god whose ugly exterior belied his wise

FIGURE 63
Figure from the Songes Drolatiques. Third edition 1823.

We can assume the strong influence of hieroglyphics in this publication [*Gargantua* and *Pantagruel*], although we should certainly be careful that we do not detect hieroglyphs wherever we look. *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* appeared in numerous editions thereafter, including very soon in English translation,[46] and so the hieroglyphic and emblematic content of the work spread rapidly everywhere.

As in Italy, so also in France there was published a *Commentary on Vitruvius* in which there were remarks on hieroglyphics. The editor [of the French edition] was Guillaume Philandrier (Philander), who was born in 1505 at Châtillon and died 1565 in Toulouse; the work first appeared in Rome in 1544 and was reprinted in Lyon in 1552.[47] In the notes to book I, chapter 1, he commented on that passage in Vitruvius, which says that the architect must have "graphidos

interior. In his Prologue to the first book, Rabelais comments that his book was a Silenus and that the reader should carefully weigh up its contents…." which will initiate you into certain very high sacraments and dread mysteries, concerning not only our religion, but also our public and private life." On the other hand, later in the Prologue he says, if you believe this, "you are not within a hand's or a foot's length of my opinion."

46 The first English translation was not completed until the latter part of the 17th century by Sir Thomas Urquhart (first three books) and Peter Le Motteux (last two books) and was published from 1653–1694.

47 Here Volkmann is referring back to the Italian edition of Vitruvius published by Cesare Cesarino in 1521. This was the first illustrated edition of Vitruvius (see fig. 24). The German edition, the *Vitruvius Teutsch*, was published in 1548 (see p. 165). Philandrier was a student of the architect Sebastiano Serlio for whom see p. 212 nt. 172.

scientiam" [knowledge of characters] with the following quotation about their writing, drawing or painting:

> and that γράφειν [to write] applies to both the actions of the Egyptians about the things they wanted to depict on or fix to their monuments and those which they wanted to paint or carve.[48] Many of these kinds of things are seen in Rome, but in most cases they are broken obelisks, of which we have seen two already.[49]

Virgil in the Aeneid VI (33/34) also suggests that contemplation of pictorial representations is like reading when he says: *Quin protinus omnia—perlegerent oculis* [All this with wond'ring eyes Aeneas view'd/Each varying object his delight renew'd/Eager to read the rest (trans. John Dryden)].[50] In the commentary on book VIII, chapter 2, he [Philandrier] cites the sources of the crocodile from Pliny, Diodorus and others including *Apollo Horus lib. de literis hieroglyphici sive Aegyptiis* [Horus Apollo's book on hieroglyphic or Egyptian letters] where he says of the hippo, *Horam significaturi, aegyptii fluviatilem equum pingebant, ut tradit Horus Apollo Niliacus libro de literis hieroglyphicis secundo* [To signify an hour, the Egyptians depict a hippopotamus, as Horus Apollo Niliacus translates in the second book of hieroglyphic letters (Horapollo 2.20)].

So the *Horapollo* was also at the center of hieroglyphic interest among the French and at the same time, the first French edition of the *Hieroglyphica* appeared: *Les Sculptures ou Gravures Sacrées, traduites du Latin en Francais avec des figures de bois*, Paris 1543, which Kerver reprinted in 1551 as: *Hori Apollinis Niliaci sacris de notis et sculpturis libri duo* with Latin and Greek text. These editions, illustrated with woodcuts by Jean Cousin, also take us from the purely theoretical consideration of hieroglyphs to their visual representations in France. Like the emblems of Alciato, these "hieroglyphs"[51] are brought into the open and treated throughout as landscape compositions, the details of which seem to be reminiscent of Dürer whose engravings and woodcuts are relied

48 See Giehlow p. 147 where he reminds us that these remarks appeared in the *Hypnerotomachia* fol. eV^{v}. Also it is noteworthy that the earliest meaning in Greek of γράφειν is to scratch thus reflecting the first purpose of writing which was carving inscriptions on gravestones. See also Homer Il.17.599 ἄκρον ἐπιλίγδην: γράψεν δέ οἱ ὀστέον ἄχρις [Peneleos … was smitten … with a spear, a grazing blow]. (trans. Perseus project)

49 The relationship of this text with the words of Pomponius Gauricus is obvious (v). See p. 58 above where Gauricus' work is briefly summarized.

50 Aeneas is viewing sculptures in a golden temple which tell the story of Daedalus.

51 Volkmann's quotation marks.

FIGURE 64
Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, Paris 1543. "Horoscopist."

upon in part at least; compare these figures with those published by Giehlow, although unfortunately, the associated texts are not included.[52]

But the use of these images was an important discovery by Giehlow of Dürer's hieroglyphic activity as we shall see later, and though the details show some deviation from Dürer's treatment of the same material, yet so many similarities exist that the nature of these illustrations gives an idea of how Dürer had or would have conceived the missing leaves.[53] Amusingly, for the representation of the "Horoscopist" you can compare the corresponding German figures in Dürer and John Herold (figs. 64 and 77); while the "hours-eater" in the first illustration devours a good old hourglass, Cousin depicted the same motif in the second with a new-fangled pendulum.[54] The man without a head—for "the impossible"—is naked in Dürer (fig. 84) but in Cousin is richly dressed; the "dog with a royal robe" is not like Dürer's (fig. 81) wearing a stole, but sits in front of a wrinkled coat with an ermine collar and a French lily pattern; the

52 Thus on p. 30 can be seen, next to the cynocephalus, the house from Dürer's Madonna with Monkey [Engraving 1498]; on p. 163 the monkey itself is copied (**v**). In the Dürer illustration of the cynocephalus in the Horapollo manuscript translated by Pirckheimer and discovered by Giehlow the house is not depicted. The house in the Dürer print and in the Cousin certainly have the same proportions but it is questionable whether one was copied from the other or they were both just depictions of a typical German house.

53 The Dürer illustrations in Giehlow's work only cover the first book of the Horapollo. Whether Dürer actually did illustrations for the second book is doubtful but not known for certain.

54 Dürer and Herold use an hour-glass and Cousin.

FIGURE 65 *Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, Paris 1543. "Impossible."*

papyrus, which is shown in Dürer's "secret picture"[55] from the Triumphal Arch (figs. 86 and 87) is replaced by Cousin with very modern-looking paper bales;[56] in short, the design language which was already completely unEgyptian has adapted to changes of fashion. Again, some of it is just like the illustrations in the *Hieroglyphica* of Pierio Valeriano; the hieroglyph of Abstinence (p. 104) is mentioned in chapter 34 of Valeriano; the wolf fleeing before a stone (p. 171) is in Valeriano's chapter 11;[57] the crane with a stone depicting Vigilance (p. 191) is in Valeriano's chapter 17, etc. Others are highly reminiscent of Alciato, like the

55 The "secret picture" or mysticum is the center piece of Maximilian's Triumphal Arch which Volkmann describes below. Designed by Dürer, the mysticum is a sophisticated rebus of which almost all the elements are derived from the Horapollo.

56 The entry in Horapollo is 1.30 and the depiction by Dürer in the "mysticum" and in his subsequent drawing in the Peutinger manuscript shows a sheaf of papyrus.

57 This is derived from Horapollo 11.74.

stork nourishing his parents or the viper coming to the eel[58] which here means interaction between foreign countries (see figs. 38 and 40) and further on we have the beaver, the bee hive, etc. Finally, some of the motifs are very like the *Imprese* of Giovio and Ludovico Dolce,[59] like the bear licking her unformed young which Titian also had chosen as a device as well as the salamander in flames, the device carried by Francis I.

FIGURE 66
Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, Paris 1551. Filial devotion of Storks.

FIGURE 67
Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, Paris 1551. Viper and Eel.

58 Folios A3^{v} and A5^{v} in the 1531 edition of the *Emblemata*.

59 See above page 103 for detailed references to Giovio's work.

FIGURE 68
Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, Paris 1551. Bear licking her unformed cubs.

FIGURE 69
Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, Paris 1551. Salamander in Flames.

[Some editions of] the hieroglyphs of Horapollo include seven other symbols added to the end of the book which other writers have mentioned and are found partly also in Fasanini and Calcagnini (see above pp. 59 ff.). There is first, in an unexpected Christian reference, a cross in a landscape as a symbol of future salvation—it should be noted that here the ancients would only have understood some hidden divine mystery; also a scepter with an eye on it signifying according to Macrobius and Plutarch the royal virtues of power and foresight; a spindle on a table meaning death (the Fates!)[60] similar to that in the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 16) and Valeriano chapter 48; an antique lamp for life, as in the *Hypnerotomachia* (figs. 6, 15 and 16); an ox-skull for work, an eye for God, as in the *Hypnerotomachia* (figs. 4 and 10), and a face without eyes and above

60 Presumably because the Fates held the thread of life.

FIGURE 70
Horapollo, Hieroglyphica, Paris 1551. The Shades.

it two eyes for the Shades, very similar to the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 16), which means the eyes of the gods, the eyeless face in the darkness of the underworld imprisoning souls. Next, an edition of Horapollo was published in 1574 in Paris at the press of Galeoto a Prato and John Ruelle with the same woodcuts as Kerver, only with frames decorated with animals typical of the style of the late Renaissance; the text is in French and Latin. There was a further French edition of Horapollo with a commentary by John Mercerus (Mercier d. 1570), the professor from Paris.

The first French edition of the *Hypnerotomachia*, whose influence on subsequent editions of the Horapollo we have just remarked on, appeared soon after with the same publishers, Jacques Kerver, under the title: *Discours du songe de Poliphile*, Paris, 1546. The woodcuts of course, are essentially the same as in the Italian edition, but they are transformed into the forms of the late Renaissance and some are also added brand-new. The hieroglyphics show just some minor differences, for instance on page 10 the obelisk supported on the elephant (fig. 3) shows hieroglyphic signs; one can see five circles (perhaps coins), a griffin, a lamp, an eye, a spindle and a snake. On page 22 there is the woodcut with the dolphin and anchor and a circle but reversed so that the circle which was in the first position, is now in second (fig. 6). On page 44 the pyramid (compare fig. 7) is depicted in an artificial garden with statues and the hieroglyphs are placed in the round base of the pyramid and the third element, a vessel with flames which in the original cannot be seen because it is actually located at the back of the pyramid and was drawn just beside it, is now omitted. Finally on page 46 the half-seated woman (*Velocitatem sedendo* [Retarded speed]) (fig. 8) is copied in reverse, so that the left hand has a wing and the right holds a turtle.

Nothing in this edition therefore shows us anything new but is just another sign of the increasing popularity of the *Hypnerotomachia* whose hieroglyphic symbols were becoming more widespread throughout France.[61]

Nevertheless, the French were equally enthused by the actual Renaissance hieroglyphics, the *hieroglyphice scribere* of the Italians, and although naturally they were not experienced nor trained in them, they did make use of emblems, imprese and devices. With their national character, as has already been repeatedly noted, witty wordplay was more to their taste, as in homonyms, rebuses and more or less witty jokes and similar expressions which had already been so wonderfully ridiculed by Rabelais. A whole collection of such things which are accompanied by illustrations, is contained in a quaint little book, the *Bigarrures et Les Touches du Seigneur des Accords*,[62] which from 1582 until the seventeenth century appeared in various cities in France and was well received.

The author, Etienne Tabourot from Dijon, was a great eccentric and prankster, illustrated by his adoption of the nickname Seigneur des Accords. *Les Bigarrures* is a treatise on the invention of puzzles and word games and their use in texts of different languages, as well as acrostics, alphabet pictures, writing in ciphers, etc. One section deals primarily with the rebus. These forms

FIGURE 71
E. Tabourot, Les Bigarrures du Seigneur des Accords. Rebus.

61 Also in 1600, engravings of the illustrations of the Poliphili were published under the title: Beroalde de Verville, *Tableau des Inventions qui sont representées dans le Songe de Poliphile* (V). This edition was actually a full translation but embellished with a commentary which attempted to elucidate the supposed underlying alchemical theme of the book.

62 See also R. F. Hoffmann, *Outlines of a history of the picture puzzle*, Berlin, 1869. Bigarrures = approximately motley or potpourri, Touches = tricks, mockeries (V).

were particularly in common use in Picardy and the second chapter, *Les Rebus de Picardie*, examines them in detail.

The word *rebus* is really derived from *des choses* ["of things" that is, Latin: *res, rebus* = by means of things], although Tory believed it was the reverse.[63] And Tabourot who had read his Rabelais carefully, then writes somewhat ironically:

> These quibbles, however, have long been in vogue and for us were of no less importance than Egyptian hieroglyphs, so that no one who was the child of his own mother could fail to know about them. But once *belle lettres* obtained prestige in France the use and practice of the rebus gradually declined, I do not know how, so that except occasionally it is hardly used now. Today, some crazy guy here and there stubbornly insists that a sphere (sphère) means I hope (j'espère), un lit sans ciel = un licencié,[64] the columbine (ancolie) means melancholy, the crescent moon on the rise is to be hopeful, a broken bench is banqueroute, an S closed (fermée) in a train means strength (fermesse, fermeté), and other such rebus, like those which made the courtiers parade as Rabelais testifies in book I, chapter 19,[65] a passage of which he made especial fun. With the same scorn he treated the great fabulist Paolo Giovio[66] with his treatise on devices in which he shows that the Italians were no less expert than we French in thinking up such foolishness.

If we now want to look beyond French hieroglyphics to the similar influences in German humanism, we must not just limit the term narrowly to Germany proper but extend it to the Netherlands and Switzerland, whose cultural life was linked closely to that of Germany. One of the most important and influential scholars within these three countries, as well as in Italy and France, was the great Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466–1536), the Dutchman who lived much of the time in Germany, Italy and France and died in Basel. He left a large body of students and both the Germans and French alike claim him as their own. We have already touched several times on his *Adagia*, an extensive illustrated collection of classical proverbs, etc., divided into chiliades

63 Tory uses the word "resuer" as the origin of rebus. This may be a combination of "resver" to dream and "resuer" to sweat. See Tom Conley, "Jean Francois Lyotard: Time and Judgement," *Yale French Studies*, (2001), pp. 27–43.

64 See above p. 146.

65 This chapter in Rabelais does not reference any Rebus. It should be chapter 9.

66 *Dialogo d'Imprese mIlitari e amorose*, Lyon: Roviglio, 1559, the first major treatise on devices.

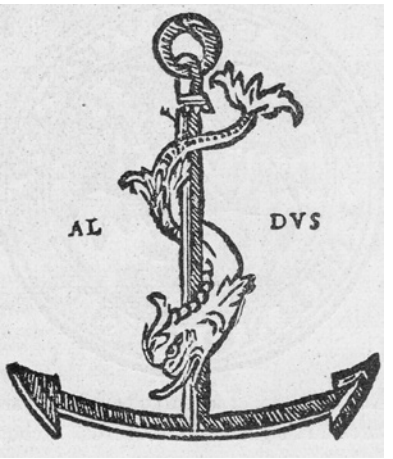

FIGURE 72
Mark of Aldus Manutius, Venice.

and centuries. We have referred especially to his close ties to Aldus Manutius, with whom he stayed for a long time in Venice and probably received there the first inspiration for his hieroglyphic interests. In close communication with the scholarly circles of the Aldine Academy, Erasmus published a new edition of his Adages which had first appeared in Paris and among the individuals he mentioned specifically in this edition was Fra Urbano.[67]

As a result of this stay in Venice, the new edition incorporated the famous discussion of Aldus' printer's mark (Chiliades II, no. 1: see Excursus 4, p. 221) and the origin of the proverb *Festina lente*. It is in this that Erasmus takes a position on the art of hieroglyphics and as the sources of this among others names both the two cornerstones of Italian hieroglyphics, Horapollo and Chaeremon, whom he believed were both made use of in the *Hypnerotomachia*. He initially praises the brevity and expressive power of this proverb that was popular with several Roman emperors, and then mentions the ancient coins, including the famous silver coin of Titus, which Aldus received from Pietro Bembo, and

67 The reference is to the *Adages* II,1,26 on the proverb *Festina Lente* where Erasmus comments on how helpful the Italian scholars were to the compilation of the *Adages*, in contrast to the Germans and his own countrymen. The Italians included John Lascaris, Baptista Egnatius, Marcus Musurus as well as Fra Urbano. Fra Urbano was the uncle of Pierio Valeriano and Valeriano tells us how he, when he as a young man, attended some of his uncle's humanist soirées and got from these the inspiration for his own great book, the *Hieroglyphica*. Erasmus stayed with Aldus in Venice for at least eight months during 1508 and this second edition of the *Adages* containing more than 3,300 entries was published in September of that year.

showed him the reverse containing the anchor entwined by a dolphin.[68] Then he says:

> This symbol has the same meaning as the motto of Caesar Augustus, σπεῦδε βραδέως; proof of this is found in the hieroglyphic script, for thus the enigmatic monumental sculptures are called, which in olden times were much used primarily by the prophets and theologians of Egypt who regarded it as an outrage to reveal to unlettered people, as we do,[69] the secrets of wisdom in ordinary script. They believed that what was deemed worthy of knowledge should be depicted by images of animals and other objects in such a way that not everyone was able to guess the meaning of them immediately. Only those to whom the properties of these different things, that is the particular strength and nature of each animal was known and completely transparent, could guess by comparing their symbols, the enigmatic nature of the content. For example, if the Egyptians wished to designate Osiris, whom they associated with the sun, they carved a scepter and delineated the picture of an eye to show clearly that he is a god and with his royal power observes everything from on high, because from ancient times the sun was called the Eye of Jupiter. This is recorded in the first book of Macrobius' *Saturnalia*. Likewise, they indicated the year by depicting a snake rolled in a circle which grasps its tail in its mouth, since as they themselves hinted, the year always runs back to the same source. Although Horus Aegyptius, from whom two books on such symbols have been preserved, related that by the image of a snake it is not the year that is represented but eternity; the year is represented by the image of Isis or the Phoenix.[70] Plutarch the Greek writer has written about these things in his commentary on Osiris and Chaeremon (according to the testimony of Suidas)[71] from whose book, which came to our notice recently (thus the *Hypnerotomachia*!),[72] I suspect the representations

68 For the copy of the coin made by Jean Grolier in the margin of his copy of the *Adages* see fig. 57 above.

69 This phrase by Erasmus, "as we do", has been assumed by scholars to be intended to re-emphasize his belief in the ecclesiastical status quo. Erasmus steered a fine line between criticizing the excesses of the church and proclaiming his orthodoxy. Later in life, after the appearance of Luther, he found it necessary to temper his criticisms.

70 Horapollo 1.3 gives Isis as symbolizing a year. The phoenix however symbolizes "the soul delaying" (1.34) or "the returning traveler" (1.35) or "a lasting restoration" (2.57).

71 Apart from baldly stating that a Chaeremon wrote a *Hieroglyphica*, the *Suda* has nothing to say about this Chaeremon.

72 This phrase in parentheses is Volkmann's.

> of this nature have been taken. There is found here the following picture: first, a circle, then an anchor, in the middle of which as I said, is a dolphin spiralling round it. The circle, as the accompanying text says, means eternal time, because it has no end, the anchor, because it delays the ship and when dropped stops it, indicates slowness. The dolphin, because no other animal is faster than this or more dangerous in attack expresses speed. If you add these together, they give these words: ἀεὶ σπεῦδε βραδέως (that is, semper festina lente = haste makes waste). And this kind of writing is not only highly valuable but is also no small pleasure to read, if only, as mentioned, because one can fully understand the properties of the things that are depicted.

A further detailed reading ends with the observation that the saying originated from the deepest mysteries of philosophy which was then adopted by two very famous emperors: "But now it has come down to Aldus Manutius the Roman as the third heir, and not without the most profound meaning and the will of God."[73] Then there follows enthusiastic praise for Aldus and his foreign-language editions. The passage shows first that Erasmus was completely familiar with the hieroglyphic art of Italy; he thoroughly understood hieroglyphics as something "enigmatic" and looked at them as hidden secrets of the highest wisdom which at the same time were able to reveal the tenets of ancient philosophy. It also proves conclusively the extraordinary importance of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* for hieroglyphics north of the Alps, where Egyptian monuments were not, as in Rome, immediately in front of you. The picture writing of Colonna, however, gave the first, albeit incorrect, representations of these mysterious characters and then allowed them to be absorbed into the old inherited tradition of symbolism and allegory.

In the later issues of the *Adages* published by John Froben in Basel and in the essay on Aldus [that is, the essay on *Festina Lente*] there is included a short digression which describes and explains the imprint of Froben and his mark; this was a staff with two serpents and a dove on top of it with the motto: *Prudens simplicitas, amorque recti* [simple prudence and the love of truth].[74] This can be hieroglyphically interpreted as follows: the snakes are wisdom, the dove, simplicity and the staff, the love of righteousness. In Greek there is also

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73 The latter part of this phrase is taken from the *Aeneid* 6.368.

74 *Prudens simplicitas* derives from Martial *Epigrams* 10.47.7, perhaps the most optimistic of all his epigrams entitled *Vitam quae faciant beatorem*, the things that make a life of happiness, and *Amor recti* from Statius *Silvae* 5.3.248, a Lament for his Father, describing his father's love of rectitude.

FIGURE 73
Mark of Johannes Froben, Basel.

a similar reference in the biblical saying: "Be wise as serpents and harmless as a dove,"[75] a good example of how the humanists were prepared to look everywhere for their symbols, in fact to look whereever there was a possibility of some kind of interpretive association and how for them examples from both Christianity and antiquity were equally acceptable. Erasmus complained in this extract about the lack of support for scholarship by the German princes, and then says:

> If princes would promote these praiseworthy studies this side of the Alps with as much zeal as the Italians, then the Froben snakes would not be so far removed from the wealth of the Aldine dolphin. Aldus making haste slowly, gains both riches and fame, both which are well deserved. Froben, however, who always leads with the upright staff, sees nothing beyond the common good and never loses the simplicity of the dove. He expresses the wisdom of serpents but shows more in his mark than is expressed in his actions and is thus richer in fame than in fortune (1536 edition, p. 361).

75 Matthew 10.16.

Froben himself might have based his mark on both the biblical Proverbs and a proverb from Erasmus which has a similar device, such as the one in Chil. III, cent. 5, no. 78. In this extract, according to Suidas, the dove is described as a symbol of excessive meekness and simplicity and in Chil. III.6.48 "Gentle as a dove," Erasmus refers to the biblical passage cited above. Maxims associated with hieroglyphs and emblems are found in several places in the Adages. Thus in Chil. I.9.11 the saying *Celerius elephanti pariunt* [Elephants give birth more quickly; that is, something is happening very slowly] is interpreted by Pliny as hesitation, just as Alciato in his letter (see above p. 85), referred sarcastically to the editor Calvi. *Formica camelus* [Ant camel] in Chil. I.5.47 is intended to symbolize very dissimilar things or those which are now very small, but sometimes very large, as if suddenly a camel would be transformed into an ant; and in this context we can specifically recall the symbol of the elephants and ants in the *Hypnerotomachia* (see fig. 12). Common symbols and the motti of the Imprese are so numerous in the Adages that no doubt the consistent use by the authors of such ideas may be more widespread than we appreciate. They would include: *Ad Herculis Columnas* [To the Columns of Hercules], *Cominus et eminus* [Near and Far] (see p. 105). *Crocodilia Lachrymae* [Crocodile Tears], *Lingua quo vadis*?[76] [Tongue, where are you going] (see above in Paradin[77] and later in Rollenhagen[78]), *Ardens vestis*, [a blazing robe],[79] *Grues lapidem deglutientes*, (Cranes holding a stone][80] which recur in all the Imprese and are examples that for greater understanding would certainly encourage more accurate comparison. It must be remembered that for these scholars, the relevant material was completely familiar to them either in their heads or their books, and that they were always able to draw new ideas and associations from this material when they were approached for suggestions for evocative symbols. And in the last analysis, for them these were all elements of "hieroglyphics," that is picture-puzzles! Also Erasmus specifically mentions the hieroglyph in Chil. III.7.1: *Scarabaeus aquilam quaerit* [The beetle hunts the eagle] a motif that AIciato

76 See S. Gasparra "'Lingua quo vadis?' language and community in Erasmus' Lingua," *Viator*, 22 (1991), pp. 343–355. *Lingua quo vadis* is Adage 2.2.39.

77 Paradin's *Symbola Heroica* was first published in 1551 but this emblem appears in the 1557 edition *Devises heroïques*, Lyons: Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau, p. 109 under the title *Quo Tendis.*

78 Gabriel Rollenhagen, *Nucleus Emblematum Selectissimum*, Cologne: Crispin de Passe (1611); the pages are unnumbered. See also Barbara C. Bowen, "'Lingua quo tendis?' Speech and silence in French Renaissance Emblems," *French Forum*, 4,3, 1979 pp. 249–260. Both this emblem and Paradin's are illustrated by a winged tongue.

79 Adage 2.10.98.

80 Adage 3.6.68.

also employed.[81] He [Erasmus] says there that, as Plutarch reports in his commentary on Isis and Osiris, in ancient times the scarab was held to be a sacred image and, in the mysteries, the high priest would have regarded it very highly as the symbol of an outstanding warrior. In the hieroglyphic paintings of the Egyptians, the symbol of a king was an eye with a scepter attached thus indicating vigilance combined with just and equitable administration.[82] Also the figures at Thebes without hands symbolized the incorruptibility of the judges and the chief justice was shown with no eyes so that he was unable to see the identity of the litigants. Of course, Erasmus also assimilates the *Pythagorean symbola* similarly consisting of hieroglyphs, into his collection of proverbs and gives in Chil. I.1.2,[83] a special section to these ambiguous maxims, for example: one must be careful not to step over a pair of scales, (law and equity are not equivalent), "do not sit on a bushel"[84] which means do not be concerned about tomorrow's food, etc.

Another well-known text enumerating maxims was the *Apophthegms*, that is maxims and sayings of famous men from classical literature, especially from Plutarch by Erasmus. It first appeared from Froben in Basel in 1531 and also later in numerous editions from different countries and in different languages. A Spanish edition of Antwerp in 1549, by Jan Steelsius carries as the latter's mark two crows sitting on a coffin beside a scepter, a well-known emblem of Alciato, with the inscription: *Concordia res parva crescunt* [From unity small things grow].[85] So all these things often seem to mix strangely with one another. In the major emblematic anthologies[86] of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries extracts from the *Apophthegmata* were assiduously copied; this will be discussed later (see below p. 245 under Josef Lange).

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81 Emblem 169 of the 1551 edition for instance, the motto of which is *A minimis quoque timendum.*

82 This Emblem appeared in all the editions of Alciato's *Emblemata* under the motto *In Senatum Boni Principis.* See Giehlow (2015), p. 289 for further discussion of this Adage and the Symbola.

83 Erasmus gives thirty-six examples of these "symbola". To call them hieroglyphs demonstrates how far Volkmann comes from the modern meaning of the hieroglyph.

84 Alciato's treatment of this motif changes over his editions. See Excursus 5 p. 224 below where these emblems are discussed in more detail.

85 Alciato has several emblems entitled "Concordia". In the first edition of 1531 there is an emblem which includes the crows but not the coffin which only appears in later editions. He does not use the full motto *Concordia res parva crescunt*. This is derived from Sallust and is used by several countries as their national motto including, for instance, Belgium.

86 These were not emblem books but further collections of apophthegms or iconologies.

As well as Erasmus, Johann Reuchlin (Capnio)[87] of Pforzheim (1455–1522) worked in Basel as a young man. He was the first student of Hebrew in Germany and his book *De arte Cabbalistica* [On the Kabbalistic Art] published in 1516 repeatedly made use of secret meanings from the Scriptures and thus gave direct inspiration for the practitioners of hieroglyphics, such as for example Pierio Valeriano. In the context of the different meanings and translations of individual letters, he says on page 48:

> Finally we have to pursue the ultimate goal—remembering that it is also the duty of the Kabbalist to understand in a text something other than what it reads—that is we must follow the inviolable rule to see the good in the good, the bad in the bad, and not to mix white with black or day with night.[88]

And he cites, as an example of senseless transfers of words, if you call someone Dorotheus instead of Theodorus or Demonicus instead of Nicodemus or Philodemus instead of Demophilus. Then there is the secret device called the Notariacum [Notarikon] which is also used as a cipher by the Kabbalists, especially by the notaries and actuaries, in which individual letters can stand for whole words or one word for a whole sentence, a sentence for a whole speech:

> From this, he says, "there is derived the secret and beautiful art of letter writing (*epistolarum technologia*), which I have often made use of when I was in severe danger or when there is some extraordinary turn of events, writing in German, what I wanted [did not want?] to be understood by a Latin speaker in Tuscany or Etruria, and vice versa, I wrote in Latin, when there was a German who was ignorant of Latin."

87 Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) learned Greek and Hebrew and became the focus of the study of these languages in Germany as well as a defender of the Jews and their books. This interest most likely sparked his work on the Kabbalah and his attempts to unify Christianity with other mystical ideas which were expressed in his most famous books, the *De Verbo Mirifico* and the *De Arte Cabbalistica*. Capnio is his name put into Greek which he sometimes used as a pseudonym.

88 The two parts of this quotation appear to be contradictory. I have searched Reuchlin for the exact words and have been unable to locate them although he discusses at length the philosophical and theological theories of opposites.

Then there follows the symbolic meaning of the individual letters of the Hebrew alphabet and finally discussion of a secret language made by transferring individual letters (cipher text).

All of these things, now unpalatable to us and of an abstruse nature, must have seemed to those contemporary researchers of the hieroglyphs immensely attractive and must have exerted on them a mysterious charm; at the same time they perceived in the hieroglyphs nothing less than a mystical and enigmatic script concealing the deepest philosophical insights. Reuchlin, who went to Italy on several occasions, was also in close contact with those local scholars such as Ermolao Barbaro and the Italian Kabbalist, Pico della Mirandola, who in turn were studying hieroglyphics.[89]

From the Italians he had also absorbed a special interest in the Pythagorean *symbola*, those dark sayings which paralleled Egyptian hieroglyphic wisdom and later were almost assimilated with it; in his second book he demonstrates in detail how Pythagorean philosophy can be identified with the Kabbalah and its number mysticism and he blends these concepts together in this most significant sentence: "All this flowed to us from Pythagoras who himself studied partly from Egyptian culture, partly from the Hebrew and Chaldean and from the wisest magicians of Persia, and handed it down to posterity," (fol. XLIIIa). He also comments on the Egyptians and Hebrews in his book *De verbo mirifico* [On the miraculous word].

In his fondness for everything Hebrew, in this book he goes even further and eventually takes us back to all the wisdom of Moses and the mystical Jewish Secret Doctrine (book 1, page c6). Even Solomon, he says, discussed the magical sense of trees and herbs, four footed animals, birds, reptiles and fish. Reuchlin noted that "the Egyptians used two different scripts, the one for secular and the other for sacred things." The Chaldean and Hebrew language—both necessary for magic—used related pictorial characters. In the second book, he describes Moses particularly as the oldest and most important teacher; this latter far surpassed the Egyptian masters who just fashioned their gods with their own hands. Plato learned Jewish theology from the Egyptians but the Jews had an older and deeper wisdom than the Egyptians (bk. II, fol. e1). He says of the hieroglyphs:

> I would still have to add that the Egyptians, because of their primitive (*ruditas*) culture which was so ancient that for them writing with letters

89 See L. Geiger on Reuchlin, 1871 (V). That is Ludwig Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin Sein Leben und Seine Werke*, Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1871. For a bibliography of modern works on Reuchlin, see https://thebiography.us/en/reuchlin-johannes (11/11/2017).

> was not yet invented, used only the images of things when they wrote and this script they retained in their so-called sanctuaries until the present day, together with more recently invented characters (elementis).

And further on he remarks (chapter 21) that in the old days they concealed their knowledge in riddles, so that these could be represented by artists; just as the Hebrew name of God, "IHVH,"[90] was concealed in the mystery of the eye, the rod, the shield and the snake of which only those who were initiated knew the meaning. You may ask how had these words appeared in Germany where up to that time the Germans had no concept of the mysteries of Egyptian characters, and how had people taken the opportunity to become familiar with them, to fathom the deep ancient wisdom of the Egyptians and the Jews? Reuchlin gives even more details of the hieroglyphs themselves in his preface to John Naukler's *World Chronicle*,[91] where he describes the columns and monuments which were first built by the Jews as memorials for times past; from these there were derived the letters known in another form by the Egyptians and through them the Greeks:

> But for the Egyptians such memorials were to be seen only in the temples as *σῆμεῖα ἱερογλύφα* [hieroglyphic signs] that is snakes, palms, falcons, cynocephali, lions, Ibises, frogs and other representations of nature which foreigners believed were worshipped as gods. Gradually, they adopted letters, and the name of Greece became known.

This is certainly meager enough information and doubtless Valeriano used Reuchlin's name not because of these incoherent notes but rather because of his Hebrew and Kabbalistic studies taken from the catalogue of the authors he used including from the Germans the astrologer Jerome Wolf (1516–1580) and the Bavarian astronomer and geographer Jacob Ziegler (c. 1470–1549). Ziegler, who spent much time in Italy and Celio Calcagnini were friends so hieroglyphic studies would not have been foreign to the former. To his [Ziegler's] commentary on Book 2 of Pliny and other passages of Pliny on astronomy, Calcagnini wrote an introductory poem; in his [Ziegler's] great geographical work *Syria,*

90 The Tetragrammaton or JaHVeH.

91 John Reuchlini ... *in John Naucleri chronicon praefatio*, Cologne: 1579. Nauclerus was actually called Vergenhanns (v). Composition of the work by Nauclerus had been suggested by the Emperor Maximilian and it also includes an introductory letter from Erasmus.

Palestine, Arabia, Egypt, Marmarica,[92] *Schondia*[93] *etc.*, Strasbourg 1532, Petrus Opilio, (second edition as *Terrae sanctae descriptio*, Strasbourg 1536, W. Rihel), there are mentioned in the section on Egypt more *literae egyptae* [Egyptian letters] but without specifically referring to hieroglyphs. For example on page 69: "Asna[94] … has remarkable tombs with Egyptian and Roman letters,"; p. 72: in Azioth near Bubaste[95] there is "a complete grave inscription in Egyptian writing," and on p. 73: in Monfloth[96] there are "ruins with Egyptian letters." It appears also that the famous polymath Abbot John Tritheim (Trithemius, 1462–1516) von Sponheim had an interest in hieroglyphs. He once said that the characters that Cicero had used in his secret letters were similar to Egyptian, a claim that Athanasius Kircher later denied in his *Obeliscus Pamphilicus* (p. 136).

Pierio Valeriano's relationship with the German humanists, was not, however, limited just to these sources of information; indeed in the dedication to the 18th Book (on the Vulture) of his *Hieroglyphica* there is the following remarkable passage, which describes a somewhat obscure incident: "You asked me what it is in that Vulture (essay) that caused some German to have it published widely and was said to have been translated by me from the Horus Niliacus into Latin." He then reported further that his manuscript of this paper which was in Rome on the desk of Alberto Pio da Carpi,[97] who had borrowed it, was stolen and taken to Germany where it was translated and published as from the Horapollo. Such a story seems inherently unlikely although even the Italian scholars, like Poggio himself, often had brought German manuscripts by unlawful means to their home and were caught out occasionally in such a way; but, unfortunately, this so-called publication is otherwise completely unknown and nowhere to be found, so that the matter remains unresolved and at most a symptom of the interest of German humanists in evaluating the hieroglyphs. By contrast, in Basel, in the circle of Erasmus' students, the admiration for the work of Valeriano in multiple ways took a different form, that of imitative continuations of the *Hieroglyphica*.

92 Part of Egypt between Libya and the Nile.

93 Scandinavia.

94 Modern Isna on the Nile south of Luxor.

95 The remains of Bubaste or Tel Basta are close to the modern city of Zagazig in the Nile Delta. Bubaste was the capital of Egypt in the 22nd and 23rd dynasties.

96 Presumably modern Monflot or Monfalut.

97 Pio da Carpi was the patron and partner of Aldus the Venetian printer. He left Rome after the sack in 1527 which gives a terminus post quem for when this essay by Valeriano must have been written.

In Valeriano's 1575 Basel edition by Thomas Guarinus there is in the Appendix such a text, a free re-creation of Valeriano's work: *Aug. Caelii Curionis Hieroglyphicorum commentariorum libri II*. The first book contains descriptions of the symbolic meaning of gods and men on the basis of ancient mythology and the second, animals, geometric figures, stones and plants. Caelius Augustine Curio (Curioni) was born in 1503 in Turin, then, being the victim of religious persecution, fled to Switzerland and lived from 1546 in Basel, where he became professor of rhetoric. He died in 1569. That he studied in Padua is likely since this would have been essential for his hieroglyphic interests. The dedications of the two books show that they were written in 1567. The first is dedicated to Basil Amerbach a professor of law in Basel, the grandson of the famous book printer Johann Amerbach, who had also studied in Padua and Bologna and the second was to another close friend, Theodor Zwinger, a physician and universal scholar and also a former student of his in Padua. The sequel continues in the same style as Valeriano, and the woodcuts are completely indistinguishable from the former. There are symbols, comparisons and interpretations of ancient literature, which generally bring nothing new and need not be discussed in detail. On page 438 we can notice the pyramid as a hieroglyph for the nature of things even for primordial matter or the soul of man. The image shows a very pointed pyramid among ancient ruins, a form which strongly suggests that the difference between a pyramid and an obelisk was not clearly understood. There are symbols on the pyramid, which were more usually depicted on obelisks; apparently they are hieroglyphs which do not have any particular meaning. There is a star, a ring, a heart and a tripod with fire, all related only in general terms to the symbolic meaning of the pyramid mentioned above. These supplements are also added to the issue of Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, which appeared in 1678 in Frankfurt am Main from Christian Kirchner illustrated with copies of old woodcuts. It bears the title, *Eruditissimi viri Hieroglyphicorum Commentaria*, [The Commentary of a most learned man on Hieroglyphs][98] but the preface correctly names Curio as the author. Furthermore, this edition contains the text of an unknown author, probably belonging to the end of the sixteenth or the beginning of the seventeenth century: *Hieroglyphicorum Collectanea ex veteribus et neotericis descripta, libri VI* [A collection of 6 books of Hieroglyphs drawn from ancient and modern sources]. It is a work of immense erudition, but without pictures, although many works of art are also mentioned. Only one strange symbolic Mithraic relief is shown.

98 A copy of this book can be seen on-line at http://www.uni_mannheim.de/mateo/camenaref/valeriano.html (12/14/15). The book also contains the text of the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo.

The author quotes the entire previous hieroglyphic literature, from Horapollo to Alciato as well as the impresе collections. The "Prolegomena" to the first book summarizes the whole field of Renaissance hieroglyphics on the basis of its ancient sources and even mentions the Indians and the Chinese. It explains the emergence in antiquity of badges and emblems from hieroglyphs and, like Giovio, demonstrates this with examples. Essentially the alphabetical arrangement contains concepts or phrases that can be expressed hieroglyphically; here then for the first time is the basis of the principle of later "iconologies."

It was mentioned above that the translation by Celio Calcagnini of Plutarch's Isis and Osiris appeared in 1544 in Basel. Similarly in Basel, from Heinrich Petri, there also appeared at last in 1554 a German translation of Horapollo with strange illustrations; it is contained in a large volume that bears the pompous title:

> *Heyden-Weldt und irer Götter anfangklicher vrsprung … aus viler glerter Männer Schriften zusammengetragen … Diodori des Siciliers under den Griechen berhümptesten Geschichtsschreibers sechs Bücher.… Hori eins vor dreytausent jaren in Aegypten Künigs und Priesten gebildte Bücher waarzeichen durch wölliche vor erfundnen buchstaben alle heymlicheyt der geystlichen und weldtglerten zuverston geben, auch anzeigt worden.… Als mit entworffnen Bildungen gar lustig durchziert: durch Joh. Herold bescriben, und ins teutsch zusammengepracht.*[99] [The Pagan World and their gods … compiled from the writings of many scholars … Six books of Diodorus Siculus the most famous of the Greek historians. From one named Horus, books formed from emblems which indicate spiritual and secular secrets from three thousand years of Egyptian Kings and Priests by means of contrived letters. With curious sketches throughout. Written by John. Herold and put into German by him].

99 Available on-line at http://digi.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/diglit/herold1554 (11/11/2017). The book contains four main sections: the first on the ancient gods, then a translation of Diodorus and then a translation of Dictys of Crete, *History of the Trojan War*, the latter being a retelling of the Iliad from Hellenistic times which together with a similar text by Dares of Phrygia remained very popular throughout the Middle Ages and finally the Horapollo. At least one of the images in the *Heydenweldt* is derived from *Cronecken der Sassen* [History of Saxony] by Konrad Bote of 1492 (on-line in the Bayerische StadtsBibliothek). See J. Mulryan, "Captioned Images of Venus in Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini*," *Emblematica* 22, (2016), pp. 130–131.

John Herold was born in 1511 in Hochstadt on the Danube and worked as a theologian in Basel, where he belonged to the circle of Erasmus; out of admiration for this learned city he even adopted for himself the name Basil. It is obvious that there he enjoyed the same hieroglyphic interests and that as he says the connection between Diodorus and Horus completely confirmed the direction of the Italian hieroglyphic art mediated initially by Erasmus. In the index of authors cited by him, in addition to ancient and early Christian writers, there were Erasmus, Caelius Rhodiginus, Longinus, Calcagnini, Annius, Poliziano, Alciato and others. Even the Diodorus translation is not without significance for us, since it shows the form in which these issues were presented in their mother tongue to the wider German public for the first time. Of course, the translation is difficult and partly inaccurate; thus on page 56, the important point about the difference between the sacred and the secular character of the Egyptians is reproduced as follows: "The priests taught their children the things which are sacred in the same way they did in the other arts."

Diodorus' description of the hieroglyphs reads in Herold as follows on page 117:

> We must now speak about the Ethiopian writing which is called hieroglyphic among the Egyptians, in order that we may omit nothing in our discussion of their antiquities. Now it is found that the forms of their letters take the shape of animals of every kind, and of the members of the human body, and of implements and especially carpenters' tools; for their writing does not express the intended concept by means of syllables joined one to another, but by means of the significance of the objects which have been copied and by its figurative meaning which has been impressed upon the memory by practice. For instance, they draw the picture of a hawk, a crocodile, a snake, and of the members of the human body—an eye, a hand, a face, and the like. Now the hawk signifies to them everything which happens swiftly, since this animal is practically the swiftest of winged creatures. And the concept portrayed is then transferred by the appropriate metaphorical transference, to all swift things and to everything to which swiftness is appropriate, very much as if they had been named. And the crocodile is a symbol of all that is evil, and the eye is the warder of justice and the guardian of the entire body. And as for the members of the body, the right hand with fingers extended signifies a procuring of livelihood, and the left with the fingers closed, a keeping and guarding of property. The same way of reasoning applies also to the remaining characters, which represent parts of the body and implements

> and all other things; for by paying close attention to the significance which is inherent in each object and by training their minds through drill and exercise of the memory over a long period, they read from habit everything which has been written.[100]

Besides, while the text of the Diodorus in his book is rich in illustrations, the historical persons are of course given domestic period-costumes and were probably partly compiled from other works and unfortunately, especially in the section on Dürer's hieroglyphs, images are not included, although the Horapollo should at least partly have compensated for this.[101] It is striking that the Pillars of Hercules in the figure on p. 183[102] carry crowns, as in the impresa of Charles V; so thus we have again a reference to emblems.[103]

The translation of the Horapollo has a particularly pompous subtitle:[104] *Bildschrift, oder entworffne Wharzeichen, dero die uhralten Aegyptier in ihrem Götzendienst, Rhätten, Gheymnussen vnd anliegenden geschäfften, sich an statt der buchstäblichen schrifften geprauchte habend. Inn zwei bücher durch etwa Horum ein Heylig geachten Priester und Künig in Aegypten, vor dreytausendt hundert jaren verfasst und beschrieben.* [Hieroglyphs or primitive symbols which the ancient Egyptians in their idolatry, enigmas, riddles [Gheymnussen] and similar matters which they practised instead of using a script with letters composed and written in two books by one Horus a sacred priest and king in Egypt three thousand one hundred years ago].

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100 Diodorus Siculus *Library of History* 3.4. This extract has been translated direct from Diodorus by Lacius Curtius at http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Diodorus_Siculus/3A*.html (5/11/17).

101 On page 137 as "Sphinx" a seated monkey is depicted, which is obviously copied from Dürer's 'Meerkatz' and even wears the body belt. The seahorse and cynocephalus are shown just as they are later in the Horapollo although the images carry different titles (**v**). However, it does not seem even on a cursory glance that Herold's monkey which is standing looks anything like Dürer's monkey and Herold's does not carry a chain. Similarly with the seahorse and cynocephalus. There is not the slightest evidence that Herold copied his images from Dürer.

102 This and the reference in the note above is to the pages of Herold's *Diodorus.* The *Heydenweldt* and the *Horapollo* have unnumbered pages.

103 This picture (fig. 76, p. 174) is only half of the image in Herold which continues to the right. There is also a similar image in Herold illustrating the "hieroglyphs" of Book 2 of Horapollo.

104 This subtitle is not found in the original nor in Trebatius' translation.

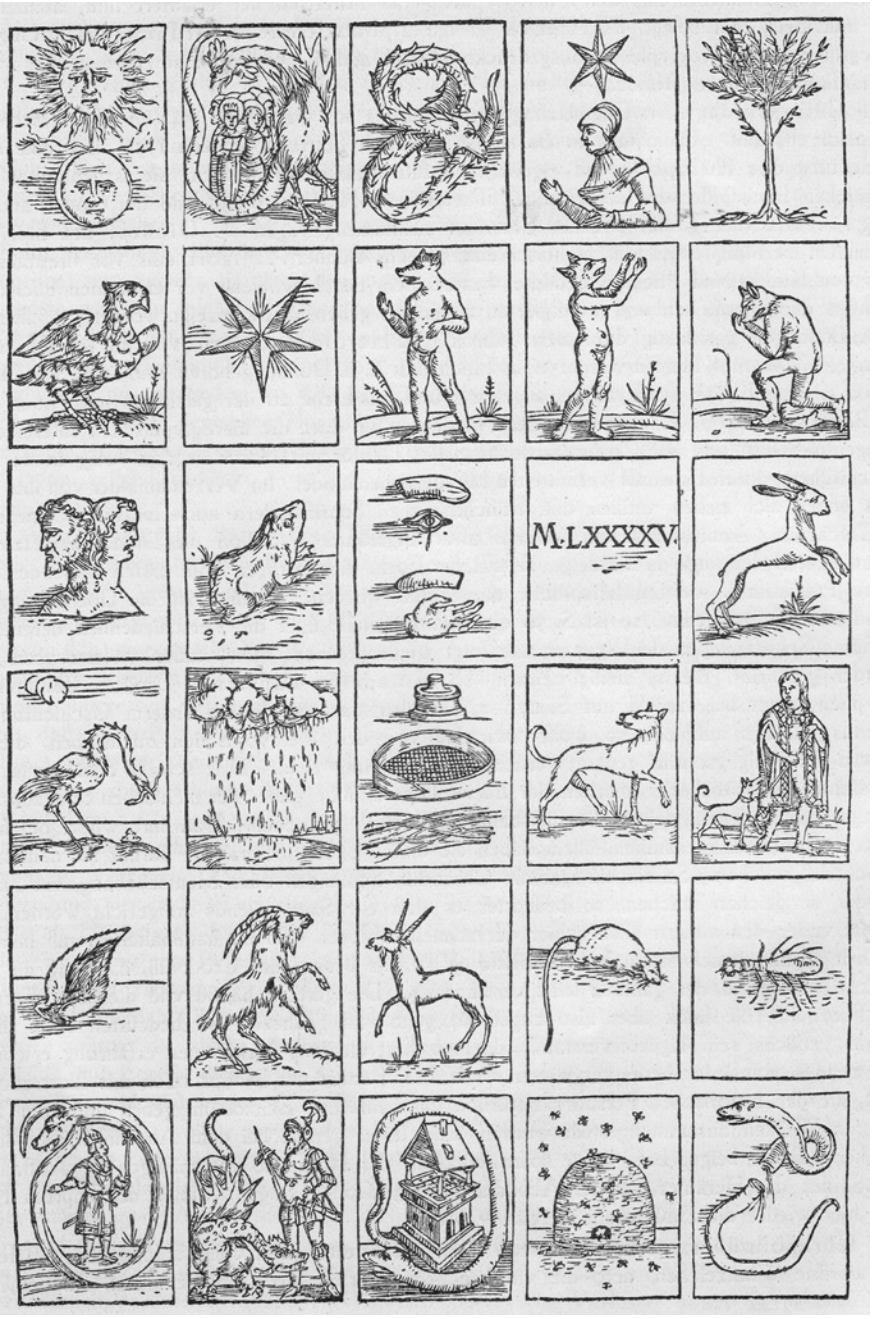

FIGURE 76 *Johannes Herold, Heyden-Weldt. Basel 1551. Representation of the Miniatures of the first book of the Horapollo* (*left side*).

The translation is based on the Latin edition of Bernardinus Trebatius of Vicenza to be discussed below although this resulted in some discrepancies which are explained in other editions. Each of the two books is prefaced with a large picture with thumbnail images of all the hieroglyphs, an "index of the motifs," and after the thumbnails a list of meanings is given. We show here the left half of this illustration for the first book.[105] This is then followed by a quite free and liberal translation of each chapter of Horus and the associated small illustrations are themselves reprinted. Artistically these are rather weak and have almost the character of a picture-book certainly in comparison to the nearly simultaneous French illustrations and in particular to Dürer's drawings but they are extremely interesting and have an independent content which can be explained only by the active participation of the author himself who must have had the version of Trebatius at hand. The cynocephalus for example is drawn (see the illustration above) as a man with a dog's head, not as was customary as the dog-headed monkey. Instead of two heads, one male and one female who look at each other, there is a head that has a Janus-like male and a female face, perhaps a reminder of a similar instance in Alciato (Prudentia),[106] which recurs in his mark.[107] For "judge or magistrate" it is not a dog with a royal robe or shawl which is shown, but (4th row, right), a naked youth with royal cloak slung over his shoulder leading a dog on a leash. The caption reads:

> The dog, who, as I said before, gazes intently on the images of the gods, so likewise the minister, being in the more ancient times a judge also, used to see the king naked, and on this account they add the royal garment.

In this passage, Trebatius misunderstood [the original], for the young man should not be wearing the cloak since it should be lying beside him on the

105 Unlike the Dürer illustrations, Herold provides illustrations for the whole of book II of the Horapollo.

106 In Alciato's 1621 Tozzi edition, emblem no.18, shows two bearded male figures joined at the head. Prudence could be symbolized as a Janus-like figure with two or three heads. In Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica*, Book 32, there are several entries depicting the symbolism of two and three headed figures. In the later editions of Ripa's *Iconologia* and in Gravelot and Cuchin, Prudence is represented holding a mirror.

107 It is not clear what Volkmann is referring to here. Prudence was not Alciato's printer's mark (he did not have one) nor part of his device nor his coat of arms. The Janus head is said to be the printer's mark of Jakob Secenius around 1530.

FIGURE 77
Johannes Herold, Heyden-Weldt "Hours eater."

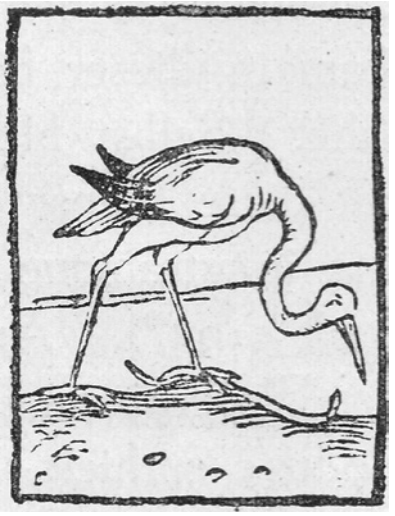

FIGURE 78
Johannes Herold, Heyden-Weldt "Filial love for their parents."

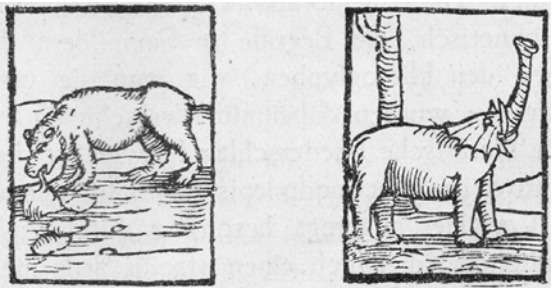

FIGURE 79 *Johannes Herold, Heyden-Weldt "A formless newborn" and "A strong wealthy man."*

ground.[108] And this is a good opportunity to draw attention to A. Weixlgärtner's[109] valuable contribution to the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo when he refers to the different versions of the text (at the end of Appendix III of Giehlow's *Hieroglyphenkunde*) in such a way that they are laid out clearly and understandably. Rather than the two hippo feet for "Injustice," there is a seahorse which stands half out of the water and has double the hooves and large fangs.[110] For "Impossible" only the men's feet are depicted in the water, while the man without a head is missing (figs. 65 and 82 of the present text.). The seahorse appears again in the second book with the inscription: "To mean a Glentz (Lenz [spring]), they paint a seahorse"[111] which goes back to Trebatius. But Herold knew the different versions even if in II.3 he castigates Caelius Calcagnini,[112] who instead of *Magkolben* (Poppy) blossom signifying Disease, uses the Anemone to equate to Chastity. Herold adds cautiously: "But since I have no Greek copy at hand, you yourself must choose whatever you wish, whatever is convenient, for both meanings give the author's intention!"

For the chapter entitled *Horoscopist* (fig. 64) who is here called the *Hour-eater*, the text reads: "Here there is depicted a man who eats the hours, not that anyone actually does this for this is impossible for a man, but a man is given to eat at certain hours."[113]

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108 The figure, which appears to be some spotted skin upon a pole, is commonly placed beside Osiris or Thoth in the judgment of the dead, in which Anubis or the Dog is also concerned. It may be some coarse garment, but it is evidently the panther skin of the Greek Dionysus, the counter-part of Osiris (v). The previous note by Volkmann is taken from Alexander Cory's edition of the Horapollo of 1840. The Greek text indeed uses παρακειμένην meaning to put beside. Boas has the correct translation—the garment is put beside the dog. Pirckheimer translates the garment as *stola* for which the more common meaning for this Latin word is just "dress" but Dürer illustrates as a stole.

109 Weixlgärtner was Giehlow's literary executor and editor. He was responsible for the Appendices and for a Postscript (Nachwort) to the *Hieroglyphenkunde* which contain considerable additional information about Giehlow and his intentions.

110 There are no fangs in the picture in the edition I have examined.

111 Volkmann translates *Glentz* as *Lenz* meaning Spring although there was a contemporary word *Glentz* which meant bright or white: see Alsted's *Compendium Lexici philosophici*, Corvinus & Muderspach, 1626. However the original Greek ὅρα can mean either hour or Spring (time) and both translations are used in the various Horapollo versions. As Volkmann says, Trebatius translates as *Ver* the Latin for Spring (time).

112 The Horapollo chapter titles listed by Caelius Calcagnini can be found in Appendix 2 of the original Giehlow monograph (1915). He does indeed describe the "Poppy" as signifying "Chastity."

113 This interpretation and phrase is taken from the commentary by Kerver in his French edition published the year before Herold in 1553, that is, "il vueille dire qu'un personnage vive

In the second book, instead of the horns of a male and female animal (see Trebatius II, 17) signifying work or revenge, in a strange error he depicted, a male and a female human head with ox horns. The stork as a symbol of the "love of children for their elders" appears without the children, so that the concept is actually incomplete (see fig. 66). Nevertheless he does include some standard figures, for instance the bear licking its young into shape ("One born deformed") and the elephant for "A strong and wealthy man who increases his goods." For this symbol the text says, "they depict an elephant with his trunk since with this this animal can taste everything." So these were the hieroglyphs that were offered up and presented to the German people in their own language.

Here it is appropriate that we should consider the relationship of Erasmus to the hieroglyphic studies in Basel and turn for a second look at the studies in German-speaking areas by those important scholars and artists who had gathered around Maximilian I and in whose work the Emperor personally participated. As an intermediary in the study of Italian hieroglyphics we can now consider Conrad Celtes—he had latinized his father's prosaic name Pickel.[114] He was the industrious and much-traveled ambassador of humanism whom Frederick III crowned poet laureate[115] in Nuremberg and Maximilian called to the University of Vienna in 1497. He died there in 1508. In 1486 he had been to Italy and had met with Marsilio Ficino and Filippo Beroaldo as well as Aldus Manutius with whom he enjoyed a lively correspondence. He also worked in Ingolstadt, Regensburg, Heidelberg and Krakow, studied Pythagoras and Apuleius extensively and maintained close relations with Reuchlin. The influence of Marsilio Ficino can be seen when in his writings he praises the Egyptians as the oldest philosophers and teachers of Plato; thus in *Amores* IV, fol. 59, he says:

> Plato turned as a stranger to the shores of the Nile,
> To the teaching he received, he applied his mind.

---

d'heures, car il ne seroit possible: mais c'estoit pour faire entendre qu'a certaines heures l'on appreste aux hommes leurs viands." Valeriano also uses the same motif but in his case with the image of a man who puts to his mouth a rose, some lavender and an apple that is the products of the three seasons in which the Egyptians subdivided the year.

114 Pickel or Bickel means pick as does *Celtes* in Latin. Celtes (1459–1508) was one of the most erudite humanists of his time; his greatest poetic work was the *Quattuor Libri Amorum* (*Amores*), Nuremberg, 1502, a set of lyrical love poems with a dedication to the Emperor Maximilian and a title page attributed to Dürer.

115 *Poeta Cesareo* or *Poet Laureate*, the first in Germany.

The woodcut of Philosophy from the *Elegies*[116] designed by Dürer, as Celtes believed, shows how deeply he had become accustomed to the subtle world of allegorical thought in view of the fact that he conceived the picture not entirely as a hieroglyphic replacement for a word but also as a sort of caption or title. Hieroglyphics were closely related to that peculiar mental exercise of the time, mnemonics, for which Celtes had a special affection and to which reference had been made in the *Libri Rhetoricorum ad Herennium*, a book which at the time was still assumed to be by Cicero and was taught widely at schools and universities.[117] This *Ars memorativa* or *artificiosa memoria* was intended to aid the direct memorization of things through images, where the concept was represented by symbols, and this came across as close as anything to the pictorial and symbolic spirit of hieroglyphics, as he understood it. Celtes even embraced mere homonymy—*verborum similitates*. He promoted this technique in his lectures and the literary epitome of it was the *Epitoma in utramque Ciceronis Rhetoricam cum arte memorativa nova et modo epistolandi utilissima*, Ingolstadt 1492.[118] In this too he was inspired by Italian role-models, particularly the writings of the Florentine, Jacobus Publicius, such as the *Oratoriae artis epitoma*,[119] which also included a *facilis artis memoriae modus* [an easy method of the art of memory]—for example that feet mean speed; the knee, pity; the teeth, discord; the sword, justice; the balance, equity; the club of Hercules, bravery; the circle, geometry; the astrolabe, astrology; javelins, the military or the Romans etc. Thus here he gives many points of contact with hieroglyphics. It is true that Celtes criticizes the exaggerated affectations of Publicius, but nevertheless he follows the latter's principles and Publicius found many followers in Germany. These are two examples: the *Margarita philosophica* of Gregor Reisch with strange mnemonic allegories and the *Logica memorativa* of Thomas Murner[120] which in the form of a card game used subtle symbols

116 The illustration of *Philosophy* is now assumed to be from the workshop of Dürer. It is the frontispiece for the *Amores*.

117 Dating from the first century BCE, this book was widely popular in both classical and Renaissance times. More than 100 manuscripts survive.

118 See G. Bauch, *Die Anfänge des Humanismus in Ingolstadt.* Munich: Historical Library, XIII, (1901), pp. 34 ff. (V).

119 For an examination of the different editions of Publicius' work and its influence, see *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures* (eds. M. Carruthers, J. M. Ziolkowski), University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002, pp. 226 ff.

120 Murner (1475–1537) was a virulent satirist of Luther. He had a large literary output including *Die Narrenbeschwörung* and *Die Schelmenzunft* (both from 1512) which were derived from, if not direct copies of, Sebastian Brandt's *Narrenshiff.* In turn in 1620 Johannes Flitner copied *Die Schelmenzunft* in an emblem book format with the title *Nebulo Nebulorum.*

often based solely on homonyms. An older popular work of the Art, the *Ars memorandi notabilis per figuras evangelistarum* was re-edited in 1502 by Georg Simler, a student of Reuchlin. In it for instance, three crowns represented the Adoration of the Magi and three ointment vessels the women at the tomb; purses, the expulsion of the moneychangers, and a heart on a chest directly suggests the phrase: "Where your treasure is, there is your heart"—and that is almost a hieroglyphic symbol.[121] Undoubtedly Celtes was of particular importance for the dissemination of these allegorical images in the circle of German humanists.

In 1491 in Mainz he founded the *Rheinischen Literarischen Sodalität* [the Rhineland Literary Society] to which Reuchlin as well as a number of other scholars such as Johannes Trithemius, Johannes Stabius, Konrad Peutinger and Willibald Pirckheimer belonged. All of these had an interest in hieroglyphics. The Horapollo also played an important part in this circle and it is no coincidence that the Latin translation of the *Hieroglyphica* by Bernhard Trebatius from Vicenza which I have already mentioned several times and which appeared in 1515 from Froben in Basel (later editions in Paris in 1521 and 1530, Basel in 1534 and Venice in 1538) was particularly dedicated to Peutinger. Trebatius at the time was the Town Clerk of Augsburg and on the Imperial Council, he had studied in Padua, had many friendly connections in Italy, and of course, with these had a constant exchange of views on the work and its mysterious character. In the almost intimate confidence that Peutinger enjoyed with the Emperor, it was inevitable that he must have reported this strange publication and these inscriptions and that they inspired the Emperor's participation.[122] The latter also shared in the general interest in numismatics, which had multiple representations related to hieroglyphics as well as to heraldry. When during an excavation, a silver coin with the representation of a Hercules was found, Maximilian himself identified it as a coin of the legendary Hercules of Egypt and since he, influenced by the fantasies of Annius of Viterbo (see above), wished to trace his own pedigree to Osiris and his son Hercules Aegyptius, he

121 This is just a reproduction of the original edition from Anton Sorg in Augsburg (published in 1490): The art of memory, called in Latin, *Ars memorativa*. 65 woodcuts. (Augsburg-Stuttgart 1922, Dr. Benno Filser publisher) (**v**). The original edition is on-line at https://www.flickr.com/photos/uon/sets/72157623338619505/. (4/11/18) The Filser edition is a facsimile; there are a great many other similar tracts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries available for purchase as print-on-demand.

122 See K. P. Herberger, *Conrad Peutinger in seinem Verhältnisse zum Kaiser Maximilian I*, Augsburg: 1851 (**v**). The book is available on-line at http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/de/fs1/object/display/bsb10347006_00009.html (11/11/17).

demanded of Peutinger an opinion on the coin in which he could see a confirmation of that descent. The report is still preserved in the Vienna Court Library, Cod. 3344. Peutinger also believed the coin showed Hercules Aegyptius after Annius without, however, going as far as saying that it was actually minted by him. They even both shared the enthusiasm for emblems and indeed the first printed edition of Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata* was brought out by Augsburg publishers[123] as is shown by the work's poetic dedication to Peutinger, to whose influence the publication was due. As a result of this appreciation the book enjoyed the patronage of the Emperor. The conclusion of the dedication already quoted above reflects a tone of cordial friendship for Peutinger and even alludes to the promotion of his interests with his imperial majesty:

> At tibi supremus pretiosa nomismata Caesar,
> Et veterum eximias donet habere manus.
> Ipse dabo vati chartacea munera vates,
> Quae Chonrade mei pignus amoris habe.
>
> [The mighty emperor gives you valuable coins,
> And costly objects from ancient times,
> but I as a poet to a poet give a literary gift
> which take, my Konrad, as a pledge of my love!]

The Emperor himself makes reference to his own coin-collecting hobby in the *Weißkunig*,[124] where he says of the young king, that he wished "to collect all the coins which have been struck by the Emperor, King and other great Lords of earlier times and to keep them always and depict them in a book."[125] But the puzzles of *Weißkunig* are riddled with emblems, as for example the Duke of Milan, "the king is called a worm," after the coat of arms showing the snake,

123 Printed by Heinrich Steyner in Augsburg, 1531.

124 The *Weisskunig* was an allegorical text written by the Emperor's secretary Treitzsaurwein under the guidance of the Emperor himself as a thinly disguised biography of the latter. It was never published in the Emperor's lifetime but the text and the illustrations survived and it was finally published in 1775. The companion book *Theurdank* also written under the direction of the Emperor was published during his lifetime.

125 The original word is *puech*. This word means in Provencale an isolated hill and derives ultimately from the Greek πούς a foot. More likely the word is an error for *buech*, old German for *buch* or book.

a motif which Alciato employs;[126] the Duke of Cleves "the king of the Swan;"[127] the Duke of Burgundy, "the Duke of fire-irons,"[128] or the Venetian Doge "the king of fish," and this is no different than when Louis XII from his Device was popularly called "King porcupine" (Bargagli). Yes, in the chapter, in which it is reported that the young king learned the art of painting, the latter indicates that he had an advantage in war, which he could not reveal better than to say that he was employing what he called secret images. The various animals, weapons etc. which the master has drawn on the easel shown in the associated woodcut [accompanying the chapter on how the White King learned to paint] could not be mere "illustrations"[129] but actually indicate "hieroglyphs." Of course, even the Emperor himself carried an emblem or, as the French phrase goes, a *Livrée* [livery],[130] that is the pomegranate, thus showing that he was always calm, without outward pomp, that he wished to strive for virtue and honor, with an exterior which was inconspicuous but which within contained fine, beautifully colored and tasty seeds. Even in the portrait by Dürer in the Vienna gallery he holds this symbol in his hand.[131] But his father had told him as a boy that his motto or *Reymen*,[132] was *Halt' Maß* [Observe moderation]. And with that we now get to the relationship with the artistically most significant manifestation of hieroglyphics in Germany that is the description of the Triumphal Arch of Maximilian and the hieroglyphic activity of Willibald Pirckheimer and Albrecht Dürer, whose rediscovery Giehlow described in the introduction to his treatise in what is an almost dramatic exposition.

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126 The Visconti arms illustrates a serpent swallowing a child or possibly giving birth to a child. The origin of the trope may derive from an early spelling of the Visconti name as Bisconti; a grass-snake in Italian is *biscia*.

127 So called because the principal seat of the Dukes of Cleves was Swanenbourg.

128 The device of the Dukes of Burgundy was crossed fire-irons or the Burgundy cross.

129 Volkmann uses the word "exempla" which technically were moral stories used by medieval and Renaissance preachers in their sermons. The illustration in the *Weisskunig* is no. 26 and shows eight or nine objects or animals which the White King is painting under the direction of a master. The objects are placed randomly and in my view are unlikely to conceal a hidden meaning.

130 A livery was the complete outfit of an aristocratic retainer and included the "badge" a symbol often worn on the sleeve or on the trappings of a horse. The badge could be different from the device or any element of the coat of arms.

131 Begun in 1518 and completed after the Emperor's death, the portrait is in the Kunsthistorische Museum in Vienna.

132 *Reimen* = German for rhyme

FIGURE 80
Albrecht Dürer, Drawing from the Horapollo. Berlin Copperplate Collection (Prince, Temple guard, Horoscopist and Ingorance). From the Jahrbuch des Allerh. Kaiserhauses, Vol. 32. Ill. 75–82.

A description of the life of Willibald Pirckheimer,[133] Dürer's highly respected friend was undertaken by the Altdorfer professor of law, Konrad Rittershaus (1560–1613), with the edition of Pirckheimer's works edited by M. Goldast printed in Frankfurt am Main in 1610. He was born in 1470 in Eichstätt, studied for three years in Padua, where he learned Greek, and then spent another four years in Italy. His position in Nuremberg, his artistic sense, his library of precious manuscripts and books (many of which were Aldines) may be assumed to have been well-known. It is important for us that his interest in coins should also be emphasized and that among his friends were found such men

133 Willibald Pirckheimer was a German humanist, who was perhaps most famous for his friendship with Dürer and his translation of the *Horapollo* which Dürer illustrated. This manuscript, presented to the Emperor Maximilian in 1514, was edited by Giehlow as part of the monograph of 1915 which inspired Volkmann to write the present text. Volkmann spells the name "Pirkheimer" but I use the modern and generally accepted spelling "Pirckheimer."

as Erasmus, Celtes, Reuchlin, Pico della Mirandola, Johannes Stabius, Joachim Camerarius, Peutinger, Alciato and others, all names that were of significance for hieroglyphs and emblems. He even allowed himself a few years before his death in Nuremberg in 1530 to include in the edition an emblem engraved in copper; on an anvil that bears the birch, his "eloquent" emblem, there is a female figure identified as *Invidia* with a heart held by a pair of tongs in flames, on which a triple hammer beats as *Tribulatio; Tolerantia* lies patiently on the ground while *Spes* points to the sky from which a soothing shower rains upon the heart.[134] Thus you even find in this biography of Rittershaus what we have already recognized as a tendency in emblematics, a direct reference to the careful study of hieroglyphics. In his translations from Greek into Latin (Plutarch, Xenophon, Lucian) there is also quoted twice, on pages 39 and 115, the *Exegesis Germaniae* of Franciscus Irenicus, Rector of Heidelberg (Nuremberg, 1518, Johannes Koberger), which refers to Pirckheimer as follows:

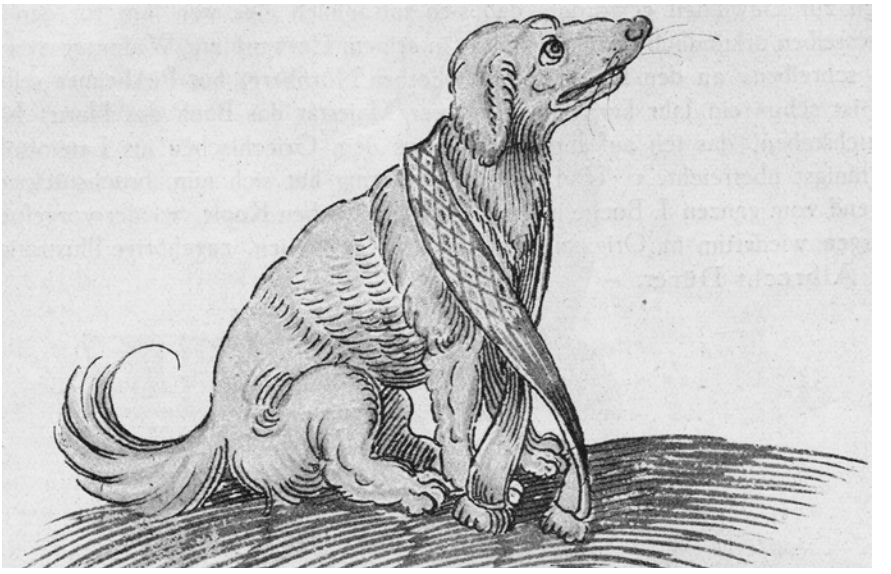

FIGURE 81 *Horapollo manuscript* (*after Pirckheimer and Dürer*) *in Vienna. Prince or Judge.*

134 The book is available at http://diglib.hab.de/drucke/76-quod-2f/start.htm (3/15/2017). The "emblem" referred to by Volkmann is not technically an emblem, it is the frontispiece to the whole book and it is not clear whether it was included by Rittershaus or more likely by the editor Goldast. It comes two pages after the famous portrait of Pirckheimer by Dürer.

FIGURE 82
Horapollo manuscript (*after Pirckheimer and Dürer*) *in Vienna. Temple guardian.*

"He also devoted so much trouble to each hieroglyph from the Egyptian symbols so as to ensure that he had greater understanding of the fine arts than anyone else."[135] It is probable that this *Hieroglyphicum* meant nothing else than the Horapollo itself and it therefore becomes a certainty that this was the translation that was actually made by him for the Emperor. In his draft introduction of Lucian's *The art of writing history* for the Emperor (Nuremberg Municipal Library) Pirckheimer himself noted in the spring of 1515: "It is already a year since I presented most humbly to Your Majesty in Linz, the book of Egyptian letters by Horus Nylacus, which I translated at your command from the Greek into Latin." And this translation, although onginally in separate parts which together contains the whole text, can now be found again complete in one manuscript copy. The text has related illustrations by none other than Albrecht Dürer.

The significance of the manuscript which is still in the Vienna Court Library [Austrian National Library] as ms. 3255, was recognized by Giehlow.[136]

135 "Tantum etiam laboris in Hieroglyphico illo de litteris Aegyptiacis consumpsit, ut bonis litteris incrementa plus ceteris impartitus fuerit." This is from Fr. Irenicus bk. II, Ch. 40 and is abbreviated there as "in Gly. illo", what Rittershaus correctly calls with "Hieroglyphs." The *Exegesis Germaniae* is, by the way, an encomium of Pirckheimer himself according to the custom of the time; in the last chapter of book III Pirckheimer is again said to be particularly praised by the citizens of Nuremberg (**v**).

136 The first time Giehlow gives any indication of knowledge of the manuscript is in a lecture "Dürer as Egyptologist," from the reports of the meeting of the Berliner

FIGURE 83 *Horapollo manuscript* (*after Pirckheimer and Dürer*) *in Vienna. Horoscopist.*

It is completely described with the text and illustrations published in full in Appendix III of the *Hieroglyphenkunde des Humanismus*. Special thanks go at this point to the editor of the *Jahrbuch* and the publisher Halm & Goldmann of Vienna which allowed not only the publication of the illustrations [from the manuscript] but even made readily available the blocks of other illustrations. The codex includes seventy lightly colored drawings, of which sixty-eight are copies of originals by Dürer and two others which were inserted later and are drawings of a higher standard, probably by the master himself, namely, fol. 3, the basilisk, and fol. 62 the chaenalopex.[137] Some of these have already been mentioned in comparing them with the French woodcuts, and a detailed discussion is unnecessary given the large number of publications describing them.

Our images do suffice to give a rough idea of these "hieroglyphs" and to provide a comparison with Dürer's original drawings, of which a sheet is reproduced here with four representations. In all, ten subjects on three pages—in a debased state!—derived from the original are all that remain. Their numbering goes back earlier and shows that they have a common literary origin. The

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Kunstgeschichtlichen Gesellschaft dated January 7, 1898, where a summary is given; this report is also in the *Kunstchronik*, Series IX, no. 16, p. 265 (V).

137 That is the Chenopolex or Vulpanser or Egyptian goose: Horapollo 1.53.

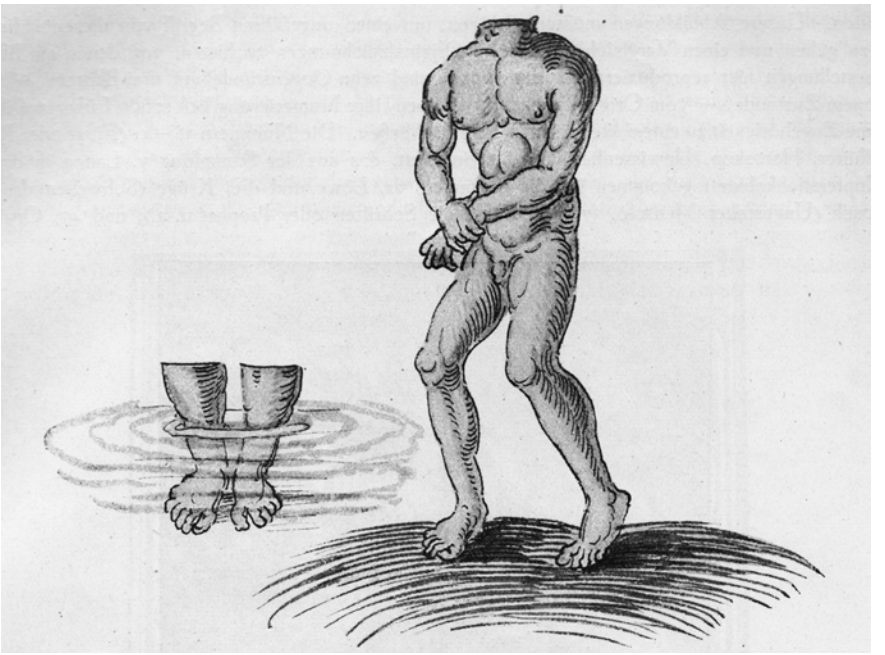

FIGURE 84 *Horapollo manuscript* (*after Pirckheimer and Dürer*) *in Vienna. Impossible.*

numbers 38–41 (prince or a judge, temple guardian, horoscopist, ignorance) are included on a sheet that has come from the von Lanna collection in the Berliner Kupferstichkabinett. Numbers 22, the lion and three pitchers (the rising of the Nile); 26, the frog (unformed human);[138] 37, dog (the Scriptures or a prophet, etc.), and 47, the oryx or gazelle (impurity), are separate sheets in the collection of Prof. M. Blasius in Braunschweig. A previously unknown sheet with the numbers 57, a sitting watchman and a snake (the watchful king), and 58, the house of a snake (a king of the whole world), has been found in a photograph in Giehlow's estate, of which the original is probably in Milan. Thus fifty-eight of Dürer's originals are missing from the first book which now at least have been replaced by copies and perhaps with help will some time or other eventually be found. Dürer could have illustrated the second book while Pirckheimer worked on its translation in spring 1514; these would constitute a further 119 images but of these we have nothing. The backs of the original drawings include a written text for which the hand of Pirckheimer has long

138 The Horapollo has two entries for the unformed man: 1.25 the frog and 2.83 the bear licking its cubs—see above pp. 17 and 78.

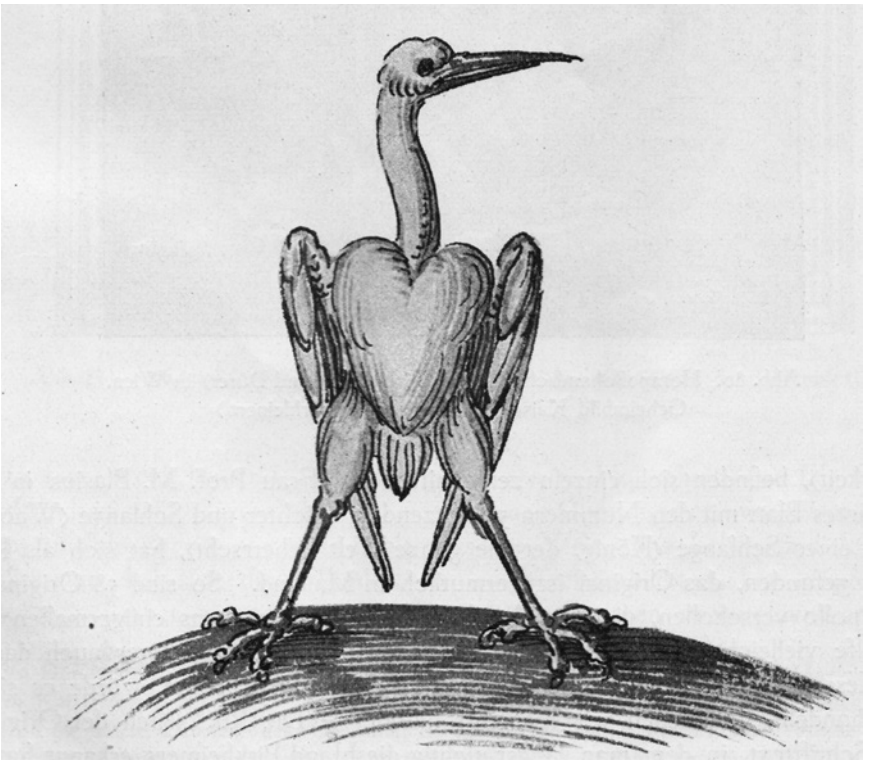

FIGURE 85 *Horapollo manuscript* (*after Pirckheimer and Dürer*) *in Vienna. Heart* (*Ibis*).

been correctly identified. Taussing like Ephrussi had said that the sheets with Dürer's images were in fact representations of constellations from an astrological work of his friend. Giehlow's initial discovery were actually fragments of the Horapollo and thus provided evidence that this was a transcription of Pirckheimer's *Hieroglyphica*.

Yet there is something else. At the beginning of the Vienna manuscript there is a large image of the Emperor Maximilian, as he sits in the middle of symbolic animals and other figures. All these derive from the Horapollo. Thus the circle is closed because this illustration coincides exactly with the mysterious "secret image" of the Emperor at the top of Dürer's Triumphal Arch and this meant that the explanation for this image, so long sought, was finally found!

Previously it had been remarked that the whole of the huge woodcut of the Triumphal Arch, which Hans Springinklee and others had transferred in 1515 from the original sketches of Georg Kölderer after Dürer, eulogized in a poetic and emblematic fashion the life and aspirations of Maximilian. And although

FIGURE 86 *Horapollo manuscript* (*after Pirckheimer and Dürer*) *in Vienna. The Secret picture of the Emperor Maximilian.* (*reduced*).

a true interpretation of the whole had not at that time been discovered, it was said that this theme was epitomized in the "secret picture" in its central position.[139]

139 Thausing, Dürer, Vol. II, pp. 118 ff; ed. Chmelarz, "The Triumphal Arch of Emperor Maximilian I," *Kunsthist. Jahrbuch Allerh. KaiserHaus*, Vol. IV, pp. 290 ff. The whole Triumphal Arch is published as a supplement to Volume III of the same Yearbook. A brief explanation of the secret image by reference to the association with Pirckheimer is given by Campbell Dodgson *Catalogue of early German and Flemish woodcuts in the British Museum*, I, 1905, p. 315, nt. 2, according to a note of Giehlow (V). This note is to be found in Giehlow's

FIGURE 87 *Albrecht Dürer in Vienna. The Secret Picture of the Emperor Maximilian from the Triumphal Arch.* (*reduced*).

The court historian John Stabius commenting on the detailed and explicit inscriptions, which according to Annius were derived from Osiris, deciphered the Egyptian symbols as follows:

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commentary and facsimile *Kaiser Maximilians I Gebetbuch*, Vienna: Bruckmann, 1907 p. 5 nt. 3. Dodgson's description with bibliography is essential reading for research into the Triumphal Arch and is available on-line from the Hathi Trust—https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433017273800;view=1up;seq=355 (11/17/2017).

> In the tabernacle above the title is a "mysterium" of ancient Egyptian letters, originating with Osyris the King which word for word reads thus, that is, Maximilian the most pious, magnanimous, powerful, courageous and far-sighted prince endowed with everlasting noble and praiseworth fame, born of an ancient lineage and girt with all the gifts of nature, art and learning, Roman Emperor and mighty lord of a great part of many regions of the Earth, with war-like arms and great discretion who overcame the power of the king displayed here, who has guarded against the impossible schemes of all men, and has protected and warned against all real enemies.

Moreover, again, this text is originally from Pirckheimer; the handwritten draft is preserved in the Nuremberg Stadtbibliothek (Pirckheimerpapiere no. 364) and was brought to light by Giehlow. This manuscript is only very slightly superior to the printed edition since there are mostly only orthographic differences. In the Latin translation, this great "Title of Maximilian" along with the explanation is included in the 1515 *Honoris Portae Descriptio* [Description of the Triumphal Arch] by John Stabius of which a further description can be found in the Goldast edition of the works of Pirckheimer (pp. 176 ff.) and as will be discussed below, shows the four griffins on the pillars of the Triumphal Arch which was the Emperor's device or livery, that is, on his shield and military insignia. One of them had a pomegranate, which the emperor himself chose in his youth as a device or livery, because it contains a sweet center within an outwardly unassuming form. Another griffin bears the emperor's motto (Symbolum): *Tene Mediocritatem*, that is, hold to the mean.[140] Accordingly, it should be noted that what is given as the text to this title picture in the Vienna Codex is in Latin and differs considerably from that of the Stabius version.

All the same things are said, but in a different order and some with different meanings; it says:

> A hero of immortal and eternal fame, born of an ancient lineage, the greatest leader, the most courageous, the strongest, most vigilant, endowed with all the goods of nature, arts and learning, the Divine Maximilian, Emperor of the Romans, perpetually august, lord of the greater part of the orb of the world, with warlike virtue and the greatest modesty of

140 The pillars are in Dürer's magnificent woodcut 1519 portrait of Maximilian decorated with griffins (v). As well as the woodcut, Dürer painted a portrait in oil of Maximilian in 1519 now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. There are no pillars in this portrait but the Emperor is holding a pomegranate.

spirit overcame in an excellent victory the most powerful King of the French which for most men seemed almost impossible, and thus defended himself from the wiles of the enemy.[141]

This follows the exact wording of the "Interpretation of certain Egyptian letters from Horus Niliacus, by Willibald Pirckheimer" from the Pirckheimer edition of Goldast (pages 202/3 and following) from which we now provide each section with a commentary from the relevant chapter of the Horapollo:

Hero of immortal and eternal fame

The Egyptians expressed immortality and everlasting fame by the figure of a Basilisk. In fact, there are three kinds of serpents, and it is asserted that this one can kill other animals without biting whence it seems that it is equally the lord of life and of death so they are accustomed to place it on the heads of gods and of heroes as is clearly shown on ancient coins on which very often a Basilisk has been set upon the heads of the emperors, because of their immortal and eternal reputation.

HORAPOLLO 1.1[142]

Born of an ancient lineage

They express ancient descent, by means of a bundle of papyri for by this they show primitive food. For no one has found the origin of food or of birth. Thus the image of him sitting on a bundle of papyri designates how he is born of ancient origin.

HORAPOLLO 1.30[143]

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141 "Immortalis ac sempiterne famae heros, antiqua ab origine natus, princeps optimus, animosissimus, fortissimus, vigilantissimus, cunctis nature bonis praeditus, artibus et disciplinis egregie eruditus, divus Maximilianus, Romanorum imperator semper augustus ac magne terrarum orbis partis dominus, virtute bellica summaque animi modestia victoria excellenti superavit regem Gallum potentissimum, quod universis ferme impossibile videbatur hominibus, sicque ab insidiis inimici sapienter se vindicavit."

142 "Aegyptii immortalitatem ac famam sempiternam Basilisci figura exprimebant. Nam cum sint tria genera serpentum, animalia reliqua absque morsu ab illo interimi asserunt: unde cum pariter vitae ac mortis dominus esse videatur, Deorum capiti ac Heroum imponere consueverunt, ut manifeste numismata ostendunt antiqua in quibus saepissime Basiliscus Imperatorum capitibus impositus cernitur, quoniam immortalis ac sempiternae famae existunt."

143 "Stirpem vero antiquam pingentes, papyri exprimunt fasciculum, per hoc priscorum ostendentes escam. Nam alimenti aut stipitis nemo initium invenire potest. Sedens itaque imago super papyri fasciculum, designat, quod antiqua origine sit nata."

Greatest Prince

When they wish to express a great Prince, they depict a dog wearing a stole, since this animal enters the temples and looks at the images of the gods. Thus in ancient times judges alone saw the king without his garments.[144]

HORAPOLLO 1.40[145]

Most courageous, strongest, most vigilant,

If they wish to signify most courageous, the strongest and the most vigilant, they depict the image of a lion, because the lion is the strongest and the most courageous and seeing everything inspires fear. And for vigilance because the lion is accustomed to keep its eyes always open while it sleeps and is thus vigilant because this it seems is the sign of watching. As the same symbol, they are accustomed to place lions in the courtyards of the temples as guardians.

HORAPOLLO 1.18 FOR THE FOREPART OF A LION; 1.19 FOR THE HEAD OF A LION[146]

Endowed with all the goods of nature, arts and learning

To denote the benefits of nature and of learning, they depict the heavens dropping dew, thus showing that like from the dew and moisture, things of heaven are derived and this moisture softens and germinates plants and such like. Indeed those which are by nature hard are softened the least. For clever men absorb learning like dew and are enriched by it; those who are stupid benefit less from it.

HORAPOLLO 1.37[147]

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144 There is some ambiguity about this translation. *Amicti* can mean 'upper garments' but more likely in this context it is an error for *amitti* meaning 'put aside or lost.' See also p. 177 nt. 108 for a more accurate translation and discussion of the Greek original.

145 Principem optimum exprimere volentes, Canem stola decoratum pingebant, quoniam animal hoc templa ingreditur, et Deorum imagines acute inspicit. Priscis quoque temporibus Judices soli regem videbant stola amicti.

146 "Animosissimus, fortissimus, vigilantissimus. Animositatem vero, fortitudinem ac vigilantiam designantes, Leonis imaginem pingebant, quoniam animal hoc sit fortissimum ac animosissimum, omnesque videntes timore perterreat: Vigilantiam vero, quoniam Leo dormiendo ac vigilando oculos semper apertos tenere consueverit, quod custodiae signum esse videtur. Ideo symbolice templorum claustris Leones tanquam custodes apponere solent."

147 "Cunctis naturae bonis praeditus, artibus et disciplinis egregie eruditus. Bona vero naturae, disciplinasque designantes, coelum rorans depingunt, ostendentes, quod per coeli rorem ac humorem omnia bona naturae oriantur, quodque ros plantas et cetera

Divine

Also they depict a star, among other things, when they wish to signify divinity, because they attribute victory and other good things to the providence of God and because the movement of the stars and of all heaven depends on him. For nothing seems to exist without God.

HORAPOLLO 1,13[148]

The Roman Imperial Eagle

By the body of an eagle is signified the Roman Empire as is understood from its obvious origin.

NOT IN HORAPOLLO[149]

Lord of a greater part of the orb of the Earth

Indeed when they wish to signify a king of a great part of the Earth, they depict a snake cut in two, expressing the king by this reptile. But because it is cut in half, they show that he is king not of the entire globe but of a great part.

HORAPOLLO 1.63[150]

With warlike virtue and great modesty

When they wish to show warlike virtue and manliness with modesty, they depict a bull. For they say that this animal is very hot for when it has intercourse, it emits sperm without movement. And when it withdraws and presses its penis against another part of the body of the cow, it hurts the animal with its excessive and violent purpose. However the animal is at the same time called temperate since it does not mount the cow after it has conceived.

HORAPOLLO 1.46[151]

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germinantia emolliat; Quae vero sui natura dura sunt, minima molliri queant. Nam homines ingeniosi diseiplinam ut rorem suscipiant, ac per illum met excoluntur: Insulsi vero hoc minime facere possunt."

148 "Divinus. Stellam quoque pingentes, inter cetera, divinitatem per illam designant, quoniam Dei providentia victoria et cuncta bona tribuantur, stellarumque et universi coeli motus ex illo pendeat. Nam absque Deo nil constare videtur."

149 "Aquil. Rom. Imp. Per Aquilam a tergo Romanum Signatur Imperium, ut manifeste cuncti intelligunt."

150 "Magnae Orbis terrarum partis Dominus. Regem vero magnae terrarum partis Dominum significare volentes, semisectum anguem depingunt, Regem per hoc reptile exprimentes. Sed quia semisectum sit, non universi orbis, sed magnae partis regem esse demonstrant."

151 "Virtute bellica summaque modestia. Virtutem vero bellicam, seu virilitatem cum modestia ostendere volentes, Taurum depingunt. Calidissimum enim animal hoc esse narrant,

And he triumphed in a great victory

To show a great victory, they depict a hawk. Excellent because it seems to excel all other things and a victory because a hawk is accustomed to conquer all other birds. For when it is pursued by another stronger bird, it turns on its back in the air, with its claws out and its back wings extended below. No other bird which battles with it is able to do this and thus is defeated by the hawk.

HORAPOLLO I,6[152]

The very powerful king

When they wish to signify a most powerful ruler, they depict a snake in the middle of which is a large house or something similar. Thus France built upon the middle of the snake represents the very powerful French king.

HORAPOLLO 1.61: THE COCKEREL [IN THE IMAGE] IS NOT TAKEN FROM HORAPOLLO[153]

What seems almost impossible for everyone

When they wish to symbolize what cannot be done, they draw the feet of a man walking in water and because it seems impossible that a man should step into water, by this they reason that it signifies the impossible.

HORAPOLLO 1.58[154]

So here on the one hand there is the explanation of each individual figure of the secret image given precisely through "Egyptian letters"—the basilisk (the crown) for immortal fame, the bundle of papyrus on which the Emperor sits for ancient lineage, the dog and stole for a good Prince, the lion divinely brave,

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ita ut quam primum foeminae genituram ineat, sine omni motu sperma emittat. Quod si a genitura aberrat, ac in alium locum vaccae corporis veretrum impingit, nimia ac vehementi intensione vaccam sauciat. Praeterea admodum modestum animal esse deprehenditur, quoniam post conceptionem vaccam non ascendit."

152 "Victoriaque excellenti superavit. Excellentiam vero ac victoriam ostendentes, accipitrem pingunt. Excellentiam, quoniam omnia alia volatilia excellere videatur: Victoriam vero, quoniam accipiter volucres omnes vincere consueverit. Cum enim a fortiori premitur ave, se in aere resupinat, ita ut sursum ungues, deorsum vero alae ac posteriora tendant. Id cum ipsi congrediens avis facere haud queat, ob accipitre demum vincitur."

153 "Regem Gallum potentissimum. Regem vero potentissimum significare volentes, anguem pingunt, in medioque domum magnam, vel aliud quid constituunt. Gallus itaque super medio constitutus angue, regem Gallum potentissimum designat."

154 "Quod ferme impossibile videbatur omnibus hominibus. Impossibile vero quid factu designantes, pedes hominis in aqua deambulantis exprimunt, et quoniam impossibile videatur, quod homo per aquam incedat, rationabiliter per hoc impossibilitatem significant."

strong and vigilant, the melting sky (cloud) for the gifts of nature and learning, the star (on the crown) for divinity, the (added) imperial eagle for the Roman emperors, the half-snake (on the scepter) for the master of a large part of the world, the bull for his bravery in moderation, the falcon (on the orb) for brilliant victory, the snake with the rooster on it (at the feet of the emperor) in a free depiction of the powerful French King (Louis XII), the standing feet in the water for the impossible (while the explanation of the crane with a stone in the claw, the symbol of vigilance, from Horapollo II, 94, is missing so the conclusion is expressed, *sicque ab insidiis inimici sapienter se vindicavit* [and thus he wisely protects himself against the wiles of the enemy]; this figure must therefore have only been added later); but further on it is clearly stated that all these hieroglyphs are taken from the Orus Niliacus, that is the *Horapollo*, and it would therefore require a review of the French editions, (and thus the Vienna Codex is not really needed) in order to decipher the "secret picture" completely if you are able to follow the relationships. Of course, no doubt unintentionally, Goldast has obscured this by emphasizing at the conclusion of the section, *Bilibaldus Pirkeimerus colligebat, destinabatque Honori Invictissimi Imp. Caroli V (!!) posteaquam Franciscum I. Gallic. Regem coeperat victum*, [Willibald Pirckheimer compiled and donated it to His Sacred Majesty Charles V after he had completed the subjugation of Francis 1st King of France] by which researchers up to then on the right track had to be very confused.[155]

There are thus in this text interesting insights into its origin, the best example from Germany of attempts at "hieroglyphic writing" after the still-evolving art of the Italians. Apart from the Horapollo, the influence of the other major source of Renaissance hieroglyphics, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* of Francesco Colonna, is also to be found here. For instance, this influence is shown in the overall composition of the secret image [the Tabernacle], in the way that the armed Emperor, a snake in front of him, sits in profile among the symbolic figures in a very similar posture to the third image on the obelisk from the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 13), where in addition the Empire is also symbolized by an eagle. The acquaintance of Pirckheimer with the *Hypnerotomachia* is certainly shown by another draft of the panegyric to Maximilian, obviously written earlier, which is also among the Pirckheimer papers in the Nuremberg Municipal Library (no. 296) and of the hieroglyphic characters, most of which come from the *Hypnerotomachia*, interspersed throughout the draft. Apparently the secret image was originally planned on this basis and only later did he commit himself to the detailed hieroglyphics of the Horapollo,

155 The Pirckheimer translation was given to the Emperor Maximilian in or about 1514. Charles V only became Emperor in 1519.

knowledge of which must have come from Trebatius and Peutinger or was mediated by some other means. It is certain that the Emperor, so absorbed by the astrology and black magic of the *Weisskunig*, who had himself read Vitruvius and had talked as a child with his father in symbolic parables, must have talked through all these ideas personally with Pirckheimer, Stabius and Dürer and must have taken the final decision. It should be noted here that in those years Lorenzo Campeggi, later a Cardinal, was also close to Maximilian. In 1517, Filippo Fasanini dedicated his *Horapollo* to Campeggi who was quite familiar with the material from Fasanini's lectures. Giehlow has a fleeting insight [into the script] as shown here in these scribbled symbols. They can be deciphered as follows:

First paragraph, divi [divine] (star); Caesar Maximilian (eagle); multorum regnorum regisque [of many kingdoms and kings] (globe on branch); potentissimi ac justissimi, fortissimi [the most powerful, the most just and the strongest] (front part of a lion); liberalissimi [the most liberal] (open right hand); victoriarum [of victories] (two palms); laboriose conquisitarum [diligently engaging in labor] (ox-skull); quas non minus disciplina militari [not less with military discipline] (spear, shield and snake-like line?); quam patientia [than with patience] (plow?); abundantissime [generously] (cornucopias); subjecit [rules] (sole with a laurel branch), pace et bello clarus [celebrated in peace and war] (olive branch and a palm branch); per terrarum orbem [throughout the orb of Earth] (globe); victoria [victory] (trophy with falcons?).

Next there is an unexplained character [star] and then some variations [illegible]

Second paragraph. Maximilian Divine Caesar and King, the most powerful, just and most excellently (on account of the Eagle) liberal and not less than most fully famous in peace, war and victory and not less in military prudence (snakes between the arms) and tolerance than in greatness of his spirit and the exceeding strength of every part of his body by which he powerfully crushed his enemies.[156]

Between the line here: Semper Augustus [Always August] *zwei Ähren* (two ears of corn = July = Julius).

Third paragraph. (Beams of light) Splendor et gloria [Splendor and glory]; (shield) Austriaci (sic) domus [The Austria-Hungarian house] quem (sic)

156 "Caesaris Divi Maximiliani Regis potentissimi justissimi excellentissimi (propter Aquilam) liberalissimi ac non minus quam pace bello victoria clari copiosissime minus non prudentia militari (anguis inter arma) ac tolerantia quam animi ac magnitudine corporis viribus laboriosissime partis quibusque hostes potentissime calcavit."

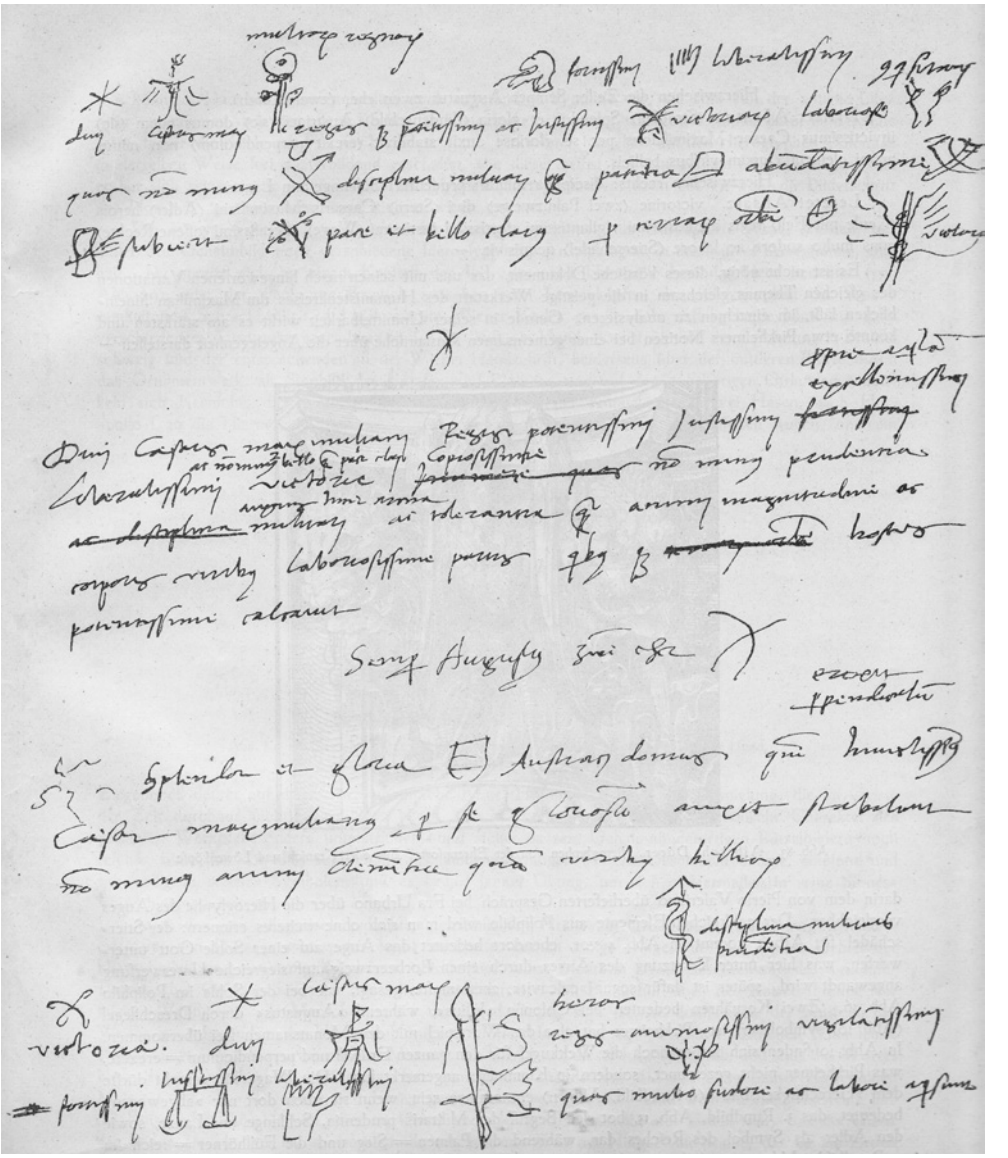

FIGURE 88 *Willibald Pirckheimer. First design for the panegyric for the Emperor Maximilian.*

FIGURE 89 *Albrecht Dürer. Hieroglyphs from the Triumphal Arch. Ibis or Crane and Lionheads.*

invictissimus Caesar Maximilianus per se gloriose auxit [which the most invincible Emperor Maximilian singlehandedly increased in glory] stabilivit (erexit perpendiculum) [stabilized] (that is, stood tall) non minus animi clementia quam viribus bellicis. [not less through his clemency than through his military power].

Here, on the right side: disciplina militari prudentia [prudent military discipline] (snake around lance).

Last paragraph. victoriae [victories] (two palms); divi [of the divine] (star); Caesaris Maximiliani [Emperor Maximilian] (eagle); Herois [a hero] (a club with skin?) regis animosissimi, vigilantissimi, fortissimi, [of a most mindful, vigilant, powerful]; justissimi [most just] (Libra); liberalissimi [most liberal] (open right hand); quas multo sudore ac labore [who with great sweat and labor] (ox-skull); triumphed [overcame].

We need not analyze in detail this valuable document but with its hastily compiled variations on a single theme it allows us look into the mindset of the humanist circle around Maximilian. It is especially strong in its immediacy and Pirckheimer provides notes on a frequent and common-place debate on the matter, for instance on the remarks of Pierio Valeriano from Fra Urbano in the dialog mentioned above discussing the hieroglyph of the eye. You can readily recall the various elements of the *Hypnerotomachia*: the ox-skull means work as shown in fig. 4 and in the same place the eye on a sole signifies God although here the eye is replaced by a laurel branch to show victorious submission; even later it means *calcavit*, trampled on, as on the sole in the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 16). Two ears of corn in Colonna means "Julius," [from the month of July] while "Augustus" is symbolized by the flail (fig. 10). In this same way Pirckheimer freely adopts puns on the names of the month. Subsequently in fig. 10 there is also depicted the globe as a symbol for the whole world and the perpendiculum for *erexere* [to build] which Pirckheimer has not drawn, but noted in parentheses. The scales should be taken as the "image of justice" (first round picture, fig. 11) even if there it only means "weighed." In the third circular picture, (fig. 13), the snake and the spear signify the concept of military prudence, just as the eagle is the symbol of empire, while the palm trees equate to victory and the cornucopias in the fourth round picture, (fig. 14), signify realm, which could also be taken in modified form as trophy.

In addition, of course, there also occur other independent symbols that come from ancient literature, such as the open right hand for generosity (Diodorus), while in Colonna it is a bowl, and further on the club with fur for heroes, etc. Pirckheimer has thus made free use of the hieroglyphs of Colonna in the same way as the latter also did with ancient traditions. He created his own enigmatic hieroglyphic writing, before the picture writing of Horapollo was accurately known, and made it his own.

A quick word must be said about the other ornaments of the Triumphal Arch, which contains various hieroglyphic allusions in its decoration as well as those in the secret image. On one of the capitals an Ibis is depicted which according to Horapollo 1, 36 means the heart (fig. 85), and on another the vigilant crane can be seen between two lions' heads, the hieroglyphs of vigilance and horror, which here as in the Vienna Codex, and certainly not coincidentally, are drawn each time with very different designs. In another place a running dog is depicted, very similar to that in Braunschweig's drawing and to the corresponding picture in the Viennese manuscript; in the ornamental work on both sides of the central gate there is the symbol of the Prince and Judge and in the attached garlands swing cranes, the symbol of vigilance. On the dome there are two rabbits, after Horapollo 1, 26, the hieroglyph for which is

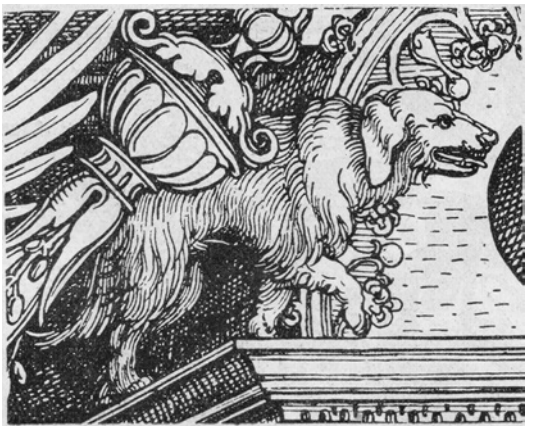

FIGURE 90
Albrecht Dürer. Hieroglyphs from the Triumphal Arch. Running Dog.

obviously their ever-open eyes, and a ram symbolizing the emperor's male power (Horapollo I, 49), an allusion which in the spirit of the time was not in the least offensive. Thus as a result the symbolic character of the whole work is especially emphasized and certainly the meaning of these puzzling images becomes even richer, even though we are unable to comprehend everything at once. People of the time thought, felt and saw entirely in such symbols and it requires much practice to put oneself in the same mindset to any degree.

Even the allegorical Triumphal Chariot of Maximilian also designed by Pirckheimer and executed by Dürer a little later (1518), contains elements that are entirely within the field of hieroglyphics and emblems. Pirckheimer himself in his description of the chariot (ed. Goldast[157]) and the strange enigmas on the main canopy over the Emperor deciphered them as follows:

> While all people are under the hand of God, it is the opinion of the wise that especially the heart of the king is in the hand of God who indicates His will with His divine sign. Therefore, in front of His Imperial Majesty is a sign bearing this inscription, and instead of the word heart is painted a heart garlanded with laurels to indicate that the heart of His Imperial Majesty is adorned and crowned with all virtue and honor. And because, truly, it is clear that the Imperial Majesty has always been possessed of the same luster and glory on Earth as the glory of the sun in the sky, so over it is written: Whatever the sun may be in the sky, thus on Earth is the Emperor. But for the word sun the sun is painted and the word for Emperor is an Eagle.

157 W. Pirckheimer, *Opera*, Frankfurt: Fischer, 1610 pp. 172 ff.

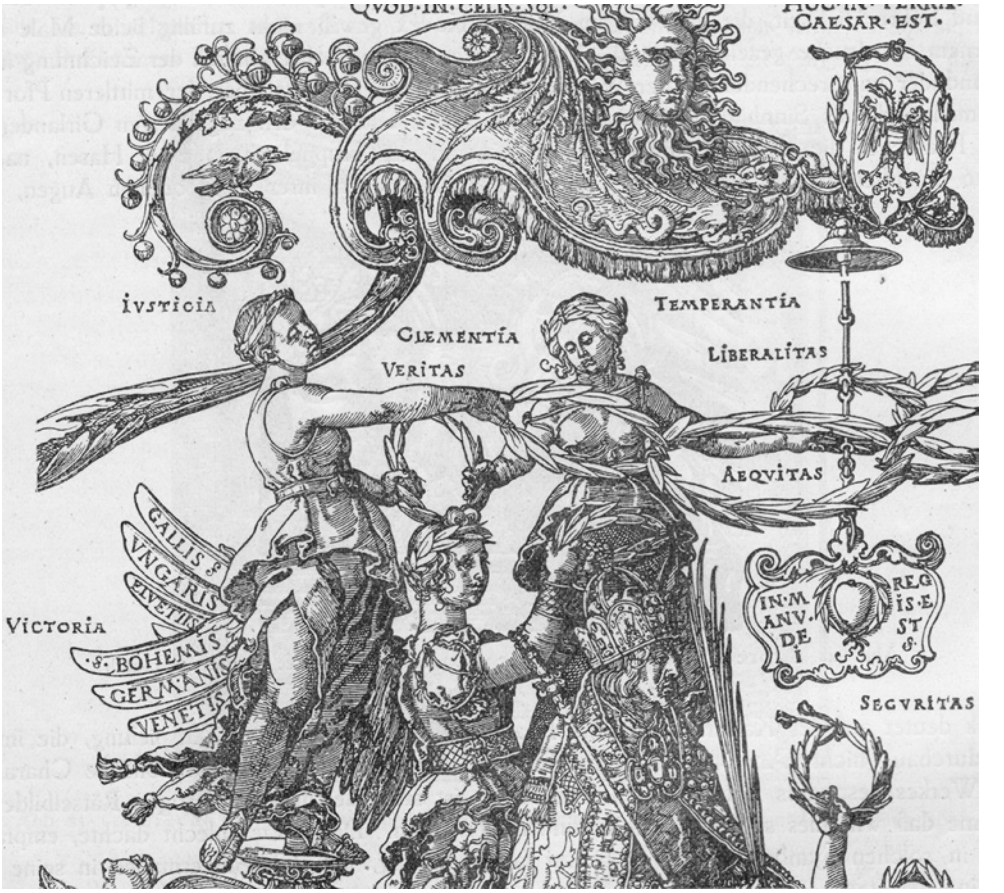

FIGURE 91 *Albrecht Dürer. Triumphal Car of Maximilian.* (*Detail.*)

These expressions, which are repeated in the same way in the dedication to the Emperor himself, show the close relationship between this "picture writing" and the hieroglyphs of the Triumphal Arch. On closer examination we can see the basilisk used again between the sun and the eagle. This could already be found in the secret image, deriving from Horapollo as a symbol of undying fame; probably it had the same occult meaning here. In general, emblematics plays a big role in the Triumphal Car and the allegorical female figures signify the various virtues of the Emperor and show a balance, a column, a circle, a ring, etc. while other symbols such as the cornucopia, the star, earth, branches of palm trees are merely decoration.[158]

158 Full particulars are given in Campbell Dodgson p. 398.

Finally there is Maximilian's exquisite Prayer Book to consider with its marginal drawings by Albrecht and Hans Dürer, Lucas Cranach, Hans Baldung Grien, Hans Burgkmair, Jörg Breu and Albrecht Altdorfer which are preserved in Munich and Besançon and which Karl Giehlow published in 1907.[159] The Munich leaves were again published in an exemplary edition by Georg Leidinger in 1922. Giehlow, who believes the book was intended for the Order of St. George, but probably wrongly in so far as the careful illustrations on parchment do not seem to be the Emperor's personal copy but rather preliminary drawings for the woodcuts, pointed out in his introduction that the drawings contain similar ideas to the emblematic literature of the time, and that some representations are borrowed from the Horapollo.[160] I would say freely

159 Giehlow's edition of his commentary on the Prayer Book of 1907 (Vienna: Selbstverlag) was an enlargement of his doctoral thesis written in 1898. Only ten copies of the original Prayer Book were printed and they were indeed intended by the Emperor for the Order of St. George and the original is now preserved in two parts, as Volkmann says, in Munich and Besançon. The names of the illustrators read like a roll-call of the greatest draughtsmen of the era. Albrecht Dürer, Lucas Cranach and Hans Baldung Grien need no further comment. Hans Dürer (1490–c. 1538) was Albrecht's younger brother; we have already seen Hans Burgkmair (1473–1531) as the illustrator of the *Weisskunig*. Jörg Breu illustrated the first edition of Alciato's *Emblemata* and Albrecht Altdorfer (c. 1480–1538) was a colleague of both Dürer and Cranach and known as a landscape painter. Leidinger's edition of 1922 was published by Riehn & Reusch of Munich. The drawings are difficult to see in the on-line versions of the Prayer Book but a good edition of just the drawings is the 2014 Dover reprint of G. Hirth's 1907 edition by Kunstverlag, Munich.

160 Giehlow gave preliminary notes on his interpretations again at the Berlin Art History Society, 5; see their *Berichte* 1908, no. 5. In the publication itself, he announced a special work that would treat the allegories of the Prayer Book in relation to humanistic hieroglyphic art and this, like so much, was interrupted by his death. He also referred to his paper: "Dürer's engraving Melencolia I and Maximilian's Humanist Circle," *Mitteillungen der Gesellschaft fürvielfältigende Kunst* (Supplement to the "Graphic Arts") Jahrg. XXVI (1903), no. 2, and Jahrg. XXVII (1904), nos. 1/2 and 4 which is important here for the common theme of all the above-mentioned texts. The new interpretation of Dürer's "Melancholy" as the basis for Marsilio Ficino's book *On a healthy life* will be discussed later in greater detail. Giehlow sought the symbolic attributes in these much discussed pages in part to understand hieroglyphics; he suggests, for example, the dog as the symbol of a melancholic complexion, which is also referred to in Horapollo as a sign for hieroglyphic science or prophecy and the pen next to it as "sacred Egyptian script" that is as philosophy, both reflecting the capacities and inclinations of the emperor, but this type of interpretation has found little favor. At the time A. Weixlgartner also gave the prospect of a new edition of this treatise in which Giehlow's ideas would be incorporated—this intention will soon be brought to fruition in a book edited by E. Panofsky and F. Saxl as a volume of the Studies of the Warburg Library in Hamburg. Some sheets of Giehlow's revision have

borrowed since they are usually only hints rather of a general nature and their real significance in the context is difficult to follow; perhaps Giehlow goes too far in their interpretation. On page 12 (Giehlow's page numbers) there is an illustration of a knight with Death and rain or hail pouring from a cloud, very similar to the "thawing heaven" in Horapollo I, 37 and in the Secret Picture on the Triumphal Arch; but a link from the hieroglyphic meaning of this symbol to "gifts of nature and scholarship" is not credible. Above is a heron which fights with a hawk and generally the heron or crane as Giehlow suggests is a common symbol of vigilance which could be applicable to both the Emperor and the Order of St. George. Also there are other animals which find a place in hieroglyphic art; thus you find on page 15 the phoenix or pelican, on page 19 a unicorn with a dancing crane, page 24 a heron and turtle (moderate haste?), page 25 a stag, page 37^{v} a crane again and on page 56 a hoopoe, and there are many more but these have no apparent secret meaning. Only the bull on page 25^{v} with the Emperor's sacred name, Maximilian, one can, perhaps, as in the Secret Image, interpret as "moderate bravery" and relate to the Emperor himself, as does the frequently recurring pomegranate ornament, the Emperor's Impresa (pages 15, 45, 51^{v}). On page 35^{v} God the Father is depicted in a cloud above a fire into which the Devil is falling; the motif is strongly reminiscent of the image in Horapollo I, 29 from the Vienna Codex, in which thunder signifies voices from afar which would be a reasonably accurate representation. Often these images are really only "Christian-mythological drawings,"[161] as Strixner called them in 1808 in the title of his treasured Goethe lithographic edition: there a fox playing a flute accompanied by chickens points to the word "temptation" in the text, musicians and peasants dancing represent the songs of praise and jubilation in the Psalms, a Hercules points to the word "giant" and an Indian gestures to far-off lands, and so on although no doubt many animals and plants are used as pure decoration. If we are to appreciate how

already been set and they contain valuable material for the hieroglyphic art which should be used here (v). However, this text was not published as such since Panofsky and Saxl decided they did not agree with Giehlow's premise; however they did publish their own study as, "Dürers 'Melencolia I': eine quellen- und typengeschichtliche Untersuchung," *Studien de Bibliothek Warburg*, 2, 1923, Leipzig: Teubner, 1923. For the reasons behind this decision see C. Wedepohl, "Warburg, Saxl, Panofsky and Dürers 'Melencolia I'," *Schifanoia*, 48–49, (2015), pp. 27–44. For a description of the correspondence between Saxl, Panofsky and Weixlgärtner after Giehlow's death, see the *Introduzione* of the Italian translation of Giehlow's *Hieroglyphenkunde*, edited by M. Ghelardi and S. Müller, Turin: Aragno, 2004.

161 *Albrecht Dürer's Christlich-mythologische Handzeichnungen*; a copy of this can be seen online from the British Museum's collection at http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1504692&partId=1 (5/11/17). A copy had also been sent to Goethe.

much even the medieval art of biblical stories, especially from the Psalms, are both literally illustrated and linked to a symbolic meaning,[162] so we would be quite inclined to believe Leidinger in the text of whose edition[163] (p. 27) he says: "It is regrettable that as a result of Giehlow's untimely death his investigation, which initiated the whole subject is not further advanced. Some echoes of the hieroglyphs undoubtedly exist in the drawings in the Prayer Book. But one must be wary of looking at Dürer's drawings of lions, dogs, cranes, etc. only as hieroglyphs". We may here recall the words of Annius of Viterbo, that sacred images are those that force the viewer to question their meaning and to ask whether they are sacred characters but only those which are beyond a mere decorative statement and conceal a secret meaning. This is equally true of images on the pages of other artists who actually revel in their many depictions of animals. Of particular importance however, is Jörg Breu, who later as the illustrator of the first edition of Alciato would prove particularly adept at these things. On p. 78^{v} he shows a crane standing on one leg, much like the "hieroglyphic" motif, though without the stone in the claw; on p. 83^{v} he draws a scene that seems to belong entirely to emblematics: on a turtle, there are three female figures, holding over their heads an extended cloth billowing sail-like as if being driven by the breath of God! This is exactly like a new version of the old motif of moderate speed or winged inertia (see above figs. 8, 34, 36, 53, 54). Below it there is indeed a dolphin, the hieroglyph for Aldus' well-known *festinare* (hurry) and the text above it includes the sentence: *Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina* [O Lord, hasten to my help]. Thus probably there is here a significant relationship with hieroglyphics which is not to be dismissed out of hand. At the same time, however, it is a good example of the remarkable way, reminiscent of the earlier art of psalm illustration, which singles out a phrase of the text, adds a picture so that text and picture appear to be related one to another and then by a secret double meaning are linked to the whole concept. The "German Renaissance" is not even a radical change of style here but a continuation of the medieval spirit often with only superficial grafting of foreign elements, just as if behind some façade the good old German gabled house is peering out innocently in an "antique manner".

In a slightly later period of Nuremberg intellectual life we are introduced to the important works of architecture deriving from the Strasbourg physician and mathematician Walther H. Rivius (Ryff or Reiff). The first was the *Architektur* (1547 Nuremberg: John Petrejus),[164] which is a compilation of texts

162 See A. Goldschmidt, *The Albanipsalter in Hildesheim*, Berlin: 1895, pp. 10 ff, and 46 f (v).

163 Leidinger's 1922 edition of the Prayer Book of Maximilian: see p. 203 above.

164 The full title is *Der fürnembsten notwendigsten der ganzen Architectur angehörigen mathematischen und mechanischen künst eigentlicher bericht und vast klare verstendlich*

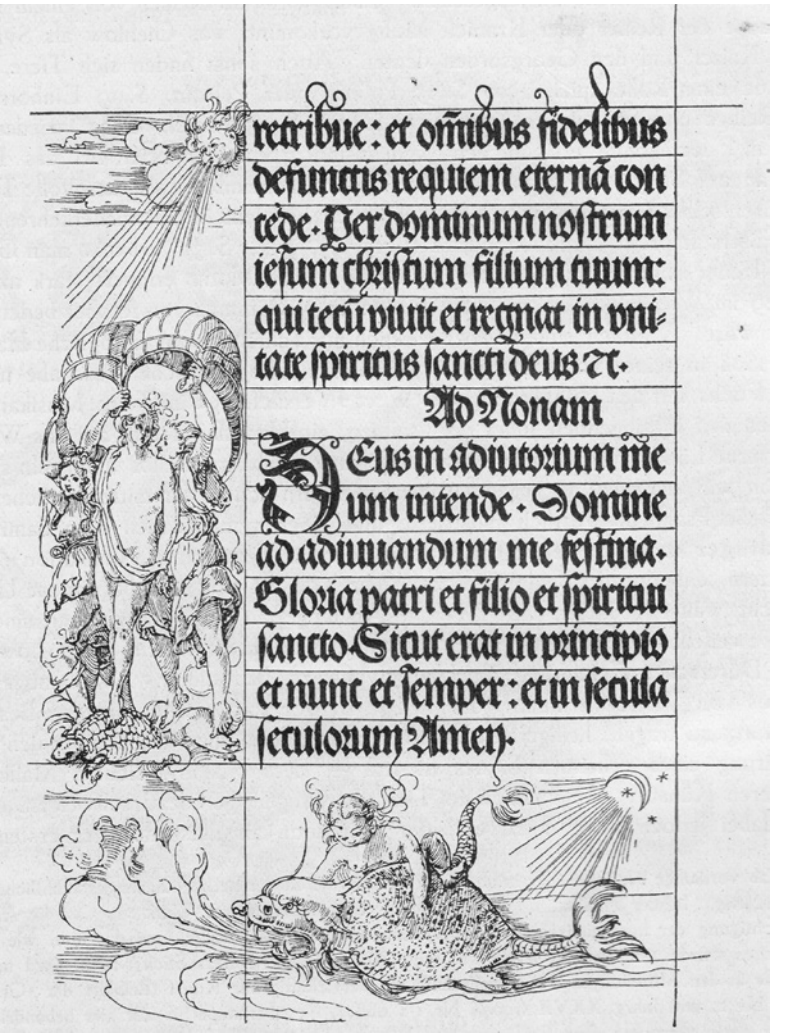
retribue: et omnibus fidelibus
defunctis requiem eternã con
cede. Per dominum nostrum
iesum christum filium tuum:
qui tecũ viuit et regnat in vni-
tate spiritus sancti deus Tt.
Ad Nonam
Deus in adiutorium me
um intende. Domine
ad adiuuandum me festina.
Gloria patri et filio et spiritui
sancto. Sicut erat in principio
et nunc et semper: et in secula
seculorum Amen.

FIGURE 92 *Jörg Breu. Emblematic marginal drawing from the Prayerbook of Maximilian.* (*Besançon.*)

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unterrichtung zu rechtem verstandt der lerh Vitruvii in drei fürneme bücher abgetheilet. This was not Ryff's first book. He had published several earlier titles particularly the first Latin edition of Vitruvius to appear in Germany (Strasbourg: C. Egenolff, 1543). See also J. Jachmann, *Die Architekturbücher des Walter Hermann Ryff: Vitruvrezeption im Kontext mathematischer Wissenschaften*, Stuttgart: Ibidem-Verlag, 2006 and H. Röttinger *Die holzschnitte zur Architektur und zum Vitruvius teutsch des Walther Rivius* Strasbourg: Heitz, 1914. Altogether Ryff wrote forty-eight books although much of his content was copied from the works of others.

in German and Italian freely translated and partially composed by Rivius; Serlio and L. B. Alberti, Dürer and others are quoted extensively. There is also a brief mention of a hieroglyph deriving from a foreign source. In his remarks in the section, "On sculpture," Rivius says on page 17:

> But this art which was the oldest of all the liberal arts and mathematical disciplines explains adequately enough the Egyptian script where there were letters which represented in painting or sculpture everything that was necessary for writing and which could be remembered in the same way that the illustrious poet Virgil also indicated when he wrote how Aeneas read as a text the secret carving of Dedalus.[165]

Rivius certainly takes this reference to Virgil from the *Commentary on Vitruvius* by Philander (see above p. 151) whom he cites as a source, but in this case in the reference to hieroglyphics he goes even further. Indeed a full-page woodcut which he displays in his work clearly shows relationships with other emblems. There is a set of geometrical and technical tools that are taken from a contemporary little "art" book with the inscription: "A circle, straight edge and all the usual instruments for an artistic education," but in the middle standing on a cube-shaped pedestal is a lightly clothed putto in the German style, the right hand with a pair of wings attached, the left holding a stone hanging on a string. We think at once of Alciato's emblem of the poverty-stricken genius modeled on the *Hypnerotomachia* and his many other woodcuts for which particularly the Paris edition [of the *Emblemata*] of 1534 served here as inspiration (fig. 34). And elsewhere, as a result of their wide distribution in Germany already alluded to above, Rivius really has employed emblems and he himself was named as the source of these in his famous *German Vitruvius*, upon which he worked at the same time as the *Architektur*, following his 1543 publication in Strasbourg of the Latin edition of Vitruvius.

The *Vitruvius Teutsch* was published in 1548 in Nuremberg also from the press of Petreius and enjoyed an even greater circulation than the earlier work; it was reprinted in Nuremberg and Basel. In it on page 94 in the "*Interpretation of the introduction of Vitruvius in the Third Book of Architecture*," where there are remarks of those artists who despite skill and diligence did not attain a high reputation, we read the following:

> The impoverished but nevertheless excellent artists and other highly experienced people engaged in the arts are these days hampered in their

165 Aeneid 6.33.

FIGURE 93
Walther Rivius. Woodcut from the Architektur and Vitruvius Teutsch. Individuality. Copy after Alciato.

> ambition of obtaining further fame and deserved honor as is pointed out by the well-known indeed celebrated Jurist, Alciato, who has described the motif accurately in the poem accompanying the picture shown above which is in the figure in his first book on the eleventh page.

Here he now provides the verses of Alciato in German translation as follows: (This is the explanation of the figure above on the eleventh page (the same cut as is in his book, *Architektur*).

> My right hand holds a rock, the other bears wings. As the feathers lift me, so the heavy weight drags me down. By my mental gifts I could have flown through the heights of heaven, if malign poverty did not hold me back.[166]

166 The following is the original Latin verse from Alciato: Dextra tenet lapidem, manus altera sustinet alas,/Ut me pluma levat, sic grave mergit onus./Ingenio poteram superas volitare per arces,/Me nisi paupertas invida deprimeret. The English translation is also taken from the Glasgow, Alciato web-site: www.emblems.arts.gla.ac.uk/alciato/ (11/17/17).

This is a good example of how these strange things carried over into the style and art of Germany and were popularized there. And in the same free way Rivius now proceeded with the principal text of Italian Renaissance hieroglyphics, that is with the *Hypnerotomachia*. In his introduction to the first chapter of the first book of Vitruvius he speaks of both the painting and the drawing which flourished among the Greeks, and he goes on to say (p. 8):

> This art has also been particularly employed among the Egyptians. When the Egyptians wish to express something in writing for the benefit of those coming after them they paint, draw or carve in just such a manner as is seen outside the city of Rome on the road called the Appian Way.... where such Egyptian script or signs can be seen at the feet or bases of obelisks. If we were able to understand this script or these signs, we would possess an initial guide to a better understanding of antiquity.
>
> These four little figures[167] in Egyptian [characters] enable us to undertake a diligent inquiry into antiquity. All admirers of art might wish to use this obvious example together with its German and Latin meanings so as to be informed about the great abundance of these painted or inscribed texts of which it is an obvious example similar to those made by the French in their language and on all the old coinage of antiquity and on other material. In this way it would be found that such texts could be much more easily understood. So if you wish to understand more about these signs you should refer to the additional remarks in our art book (?) where we give an actual description of these things. But to cut it short we will give you examples by taking picture by picture:[168] in the next figure there are depicted an eagle, an armed man and a sword and lance; the snakes correctly depict matters of war, and the ornaments and weapons also mean war but the serpent signifies cautiousness; the eagle represents an empire or ruler but the anchor with a chain symbolizes powerful constraint. I would interpret this mixed text as an allegory that cautiousness in matters of war is for every empire a powerful and strong constraint.

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167 The four little figures are the ant-elephant figures from the Poliphili depicted on the base of the obelisk (fol. p6). Rivius also prints in the *Vitruvius Teutsch* this illustration and the two subsequent roundels together with the hieroglyphs from the sarcophagus (Poliphili fol. q7).

168 Rivius proceeds to interpret the roundel from the *Hypnerotomachia* after the ant-elephant roundel. Colonna gives the subscript and translation for this image as "Military prudence or discipline is the strongest bond of the empire" (*Hypnerotomachia*, fol. p7; trans. Godwin p. 245).

These words show in a particularly original manner how the pictures in the *Hypnerotomachia* were actually seen in Germany as genuine Egyptian hieroglyphs well suited to serve as templates for a specific "painted script." That Rivius could assume that the woodcuts of *Hypnerotomachia* were Egyptian, demonstrates once again his completely undeveloped sense of the passing of historic time. On the other hand he also naively allowed himself to transfer these images from the plain sketches of the Italian Quattrocento into the stronger forms of the German High Renaissance (by Virgil Solis?), just as they also appeared in the French edition of 1561.[169] Under the heading:

> Figures showing the meaning of several Egyptian signs which they used in ancient times as letters in their script,

he again gives the following illustrations from the *Hypnerotomachia* which are also slightly altered or transformed so as to have the opposite sense:[170]

1. The second medallion from the obelisk base, the elephants and the ants (fig. 12), with the correct interpretation of Latin, *Pace ac concordia parvae res crescunt, discordia maximae decrescunt* [Through peace and concord small things increase; through discord great things diminish].

   Then Rivius writes: "that is in German: in peace and concord, small and insignificant things will multiply and prosper. But in discord and unpleasantness, big things will be reduced to the small or nothing."
2. The third medallion (fig. 13) has the Latin interpretation: *Militaris Prudentia seu disciplina imperii est tenacissimum vinculum* [Military prudence or discipline is the strongest bond of the empire]. Rivius says: "In German the Latin can be translated as follows. Prudent and farsighted counsel requires much exercise in matters of war; it requires a powerful, firm, comforting hand and a strong bond in every empire or army."
3. The fourth medallion (fig. 14); *Divi iulii victoria rumet spoliorum copiossisum trophae seu insignia* [The rich trophy or insignia of the victories and spoils of the divine Julius]. Rivius says: "the victories and triumphant wars of the divine Julius, Emperor of the Romans are recorded by noble figures and powerful signs."

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169 See Heinr. Röttinger, "Die Holzschnitte zur Architektur und zum Vitruvius teustsch des Walther Rivius," *Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 167, Strassburg 1914 and Max Bach "Die illustrierten Vitruvausgaben des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, IV Jahrg. Vol. I p. 49 and p. 141 (V).

170 Rivius appears to have quite an accurate translation neither embellished nor given a different sense.

4. The Sarcophagus of the Lovers (fig. 16); *Diis manibus mors vitae contrariet velocissima cuncta calcat. Suppeditat. Rapit consumit. Dissolvit. Melliflue duos mutuose strictim et ardenter amantes, hic extinctos coniunxit.* [To the blessed shades. Death spurns all life's contrary and rapid things. It gives, it takes, it consumes, it dissolves. Here it has sweetly united two dead ones who loved mutually, strictly and ardently]. Rivius writes: "To honor the departed; death means a quick dissolution of life, which overcomes all things. It gives and takes. It separates and divides. Here it has brought together two who were deprived of life but now are sweetly joined in burning love."

FIGURE 94
Walther Rivius. Vitruvius Teutsch. Hieroglyph. Copy from the fourth roundel on the obelisk in the Hypnerotomachia.

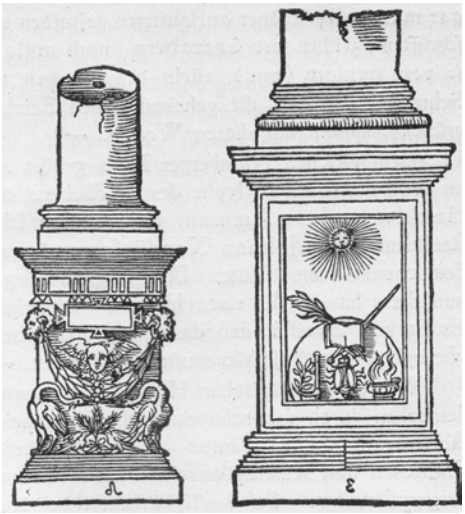

FIGURE 95
Walther Rivius. Architektur and Vitruvius Teutsch. Copy from the column bases in the Vitruvius of Cesare Cesarino.

It is particularly fascinating to notice here how even in the language there has occurred a change in style from the simple to the richly decorated just as in the pictures themselves where striking temporal and racial disparities are both expressed.

In the dedication of the *German Vitruvius* to the Nuremberg Town Council, Rivius noted some of the most important models and sources for his comments: Luca Pacioli,[171] Caesar Caesarini [Cesariano], Benedictus Jovius, Bonus Maurus [see immediately below], Leo Baptista (Alberti!), Guilielmus Philander [or Philandrier; see p. 151], Seb. Serlio,[172] Petrus Nonius,[173] Orontius Fineus,[174] Nic. Tartalea.[175] The borrowing from Philander has already been mentioned; among the others we should first remember Cesare Cesariano, whose Vitruvius of 1521 was finished by Benedictus Jovius and Bonus Maurus and contains some interesting examples of hieroglyphs (fig. 24).[176] These can again be found little changed in Rivius but this time in the *Vitruvius Teutsch* with an explanation of the hieroglyphic content although they are not mentioned in his book *Architektur*. They are both displayed on bases of columns in the Doric and Ionic style first found on page 47 of Vitruvius in book IV, chapter 3, described as follows:

> With their Egyptian characters called hieroglyphic signs designed and sketched after the antique manner..... on the four corners there are four little heads wound round with wreaths or festoons ... under these wreaths or festoons two storks with long necks are positioned on the

171 Luca Pacioli (c. 1447–1515), an Italian mathematician and author, who inter alia published the first text on double entry book-keeping. He collaborated with Leonardo da Vinci who did the illustrations for Pacioli's book, *De Divina Proportione*, the second section of which is devoted to architecture and is drawn upon by Rivius.

172 For Serlio (1475–1554), see *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, trans. by V. Hart and P. Hicks New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996–2001. For a biography, extensive bibliography and excerpts from his work see also Margaret Daly Davis *Sebastiano Serlio* at http://archiv.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/artdok/volltexte/2011/1352/pdf/Daly_Davis_Fontes57.pdf (3/21/2017).

173 Petrus Nonius (Pedro Nunes 1502–1576) was a Portuguese mathematician and astronomer.

174 Orontius Finnaeus (Oronce Fine 1494–1555) was a French mathematician, astronomer and cartographer.

175 Niccolo Tartaglia (1499–1557) was a Venetian mathematician with a particular interest in ballistics. His most famous book *Quesiti et Inventioni Diverse* is dedicated to Henry VIII as a result of Tartaglia's friendship with the king's Venetian ambassador, Richard Wentworth.

176 The manuscripts of Vitruvius had no illustrations; the publication by Caesariano was the first to include these.

> corners facing each other and below, between them, are two birds feeding on corn; in the center of the wreath there is hanging an unusual head with horns [actually wings] although this should be a woman's head with snakes instead of hair (the head of Medusa) and above it there is a tablet with the inscription TITO CLAVDIO EREPTO FATIS INIQVISS [Titus Claudius having been snatched away by the wicked fates].[177]

The other ionic base, also similar to the example given in Cesariano, is not described in detail in his figurative hieroglyphic illustrations but he says it "displays many signs as depicted above." Again the woodcut has a different sense to the Italian original and the hard-to-decipher Greek inscription is omitted altogether. That relates readily to the point in the commentary on the preface to the fifth book (fol. 159^{v}) where knowledge of languages is discussed, that is, the necessity for the architect to be able to read inscriptions. Here again hieroglyphics are given a short discussion:

> We have this example in various texts for it gives further witness to the fact that not just in Rome but in many places many beautiful antiquities were found and excavated from the soil inscribed with foreign and incomprehensible texts, signs and characters in the ancient usage of the pagan Egyptians and other nations with the result that very little of the information communicated could be read or remembered.

The intense desire of the scholars of the age to interpret these mysterious characters and explore their hidden and profound content is reflected in these words.

To the same Nuremberg circle there also belongs a woodcut containing an isolated reference to the popular hieroglyph of temperance or moderate speed, the *Allegory of Trade* by Jost Amman, the brainchild of the renowned artist and biographer, the "author" and "mathematician" Johann Neudörfer (Andresen no. 81, Bartsch no. 25).

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177 The full inscription is *Tito Claudio Fortunato erepto Fatis iniquissimis*. The original for the drawing and the inscription is a sketch in the Escorial library by Ghirlandaio or his workshop of the gravestone of this otherwise unknown Roman depicted in Escorial MS Codex Escurialensis 29-II-12 on Folio 51^{r}. This original does not contain an inscription on the plaque in the center of the tombstone but it does make the snakes in Medusa's hair obvious. For further discussion see Hekki Solin, "Die Berliner Handschrift von Battista Brunelleschi," *Pegasus—Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike*, 9, (2007), pp. 9–46.

FIGURE 96 *Jost Amman. The Allegory of Trade.*[178]

178 As can be seen from this illustration the depiction of Fortuna is a very small part of the cut.

The plate, accompanied by verses in German, shows Fortuna standing on a ball as the companion of Mercury; she has a pair of wings attached to one hand, while in the other she carries a turtle. There is no doubt that this unusual representation derives directly or indirectly from the corresponding hieroglyph in the *Hypnerotomachia*.

Just as French hieroglyphics followed to some extent from the satires of Rabelais so German ones were influenced by the extravagant satirist Johann Fischart (c. 1545–91),[179] who, in his free translation of *Gargantua* (1575 and other editions), his knowledge of French hieroglyphics and his witticisms in reproducing the excesses of the emblems, embellished the former in his own inimitable style. His *Affentheuerliche Raupengeheuerliche* [stet: = Naupengeheuerliche] *Geschichtklitterung von Thaten und Rahten der Helden und Herrn Grandgoschier Gorgellantua und dess Eiteldürstlichen Durchdürstlichen Fürstlectigen Pantagruel* [Adventurous, Whimsicallyvast, Storyscribble of the Deeds and Counsels of the heroes and lords Grandgousier and Gargantua and of the fully and properly boasted Gargantua][180] is no mere translation, but bears all the marks of a personal study of the original materials by this remarkable man. He was a lawyer at the Supreme Court in Speyer and later the magistrate in Forbach, and his cultural horizons were widened as a result of his travels to Italy, England and the Netherlands. Of course he did not have a clear understanding of the meaning of the hieroglyphs; to him they were merely the epitome of some ancient and obscure mystery texts. For instance in the first chapter headed, *Von veralteter Ankunft des Gorgollantua* he describes an inscription on an old recently excavated sarcophagus as: "a hieroglyphic inscription on his tombstone." A rotted booklet which he finds inside, containing the genealogy of the hero, leads him to interpret the garbled letters and words and reflect on what manner of art this was: "And truly this almost kabbalistic art puzzles me almost as much as trying to understand the riddle of Oedipus." In chapter 9, Fischart refers again to the Kabbalah with its occult double meaning which since the time of Reuchlin had been linked with

179 Johann Fischart (1545–1591) is said to be the most accomplished German writer of the latter part of the sixteenth century. He did a number of translations and his greatest work, the *Geschichtsklitterung* (1572, 1575, and 1590), was an adaptation and expansion of Rabelais' *Gargantua*. The vocabulary, enlarging on Rabelais' already exotic language, is so difficult that it has never been translated. As regards the hieroglyphs, in the same manner as Rabelais, he satyrizes those who make use of silly puns for their personal devices or mottos; extracts from the *Geschichtsklitterung* are given below pp. 215 ff.

180 Translation taken from Weinberg p. 27. (F. M. Weinberg, "Fischarts' Geschichtklitterung: A Questionable Reception of Gargantua," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 13.3 (1982), pp. 23–35).

hieroglyphics: "What was the purpose of the Kabbalistic books for the explanation of nature and the power of nature if one does not seek a greater mind behind them." He gives the passage about the insignia on the beret of Gargantua (Rabelais I, 8) in the following chapter XI as follows:

> He wore also a golden plaque,[181] in the form of a Schaupfennig[182] or Göttelgelt,[183] a very beautiful medal weighing sixty-eight Luneberg marks upon which a figure was enamelled in bright colors with two heads each turning a little towards the other and with four arms, four feet and two behinds and one stomach, just as Plato describes in his Symposium (Sammenpausen!) that, in the beginning, the nature of mankind was veiled in mystery.[184] And which was engraved thereon in Ionic script since this was translated into German from the Greek during the time of Charlemagne.[185]

(then follows the Greek text in a jumbled form). He enlightens us further as to the concept of the emblem in chapter 55, *From the Establishment of the Abbey of Willigmut*, in which he describes in more detail a gallery containing historical paintings which Rabelais actually only mentions briefly (chapter 53):

> Which from ancient times was decorated with stories, emblems, *Einblümungen*,[186] devices, capbadges as well as narratives of great deeds and histories,"

and for which he adduces Michelangelo, Holbein, Stimmer, Dürer and Jost Amman for comparison. The printer's mark which he puts on the cover of his book is also quite emblematic; it shows two hands each coming out of a cloud and one holding a crab and the other a snake, with the caption: "Si laxes erepit.—Si premas[187] erumpit" [If you are loose, it flows. If you push, it bursts forth], and the allusion to his monogram "Im Fischen gilts Mischen."[188]

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181 Plataine in Rabelais; Platten in Fischart coming from the Latin *patena* or basin.

182 A satirical medal.

183 Coins given to children at a christening ceremony.

184 See Excursus 6 for a discussion of this reference to the *Symposium*.

185 I have been unable to discover the source of this reference to Charlemagne.

186 Fischart seems to be fond of this word, a pun on emblem = something blooming.

187 Some citations have *Si stringas erumpit*.

188 This is an initial letter anagram of Fischart's name JFGM or Johann Fischart Genannt Mentzer. Mentzer or Gilts Mentzer was one of his pen-names.

But the high point is in his chapter *Von den Hoffarben und Gemerckreimen Gurgelgrossa und seins Söhnleins* (XII, in Rabelais 9), where there is a polemic against the excesses of heraldic and emblem design which is far more detailed than his source. As he says of the much used coloring book:

> Thus his text gives deep thought to all this: and then elucidates the verses on the sleeves of his noble robes, the remarks on his coat of arms, his mummer's garments, his jewellery, his decorated carpet, his wall, pillar, cushions, surcoat, crest, ancestral epic, his shield and the heraldic charges thereon, his backside quartered, the rattle of his skirt reduced, his mule bridled, his horse caparaisoned, his gauntlets trimmed, his plumes adjusted; and indeed women also are parodied in their beds, with their necklaces, their games, their diseases, and so on.[189]

In his sometimes rather coarse humor, he continues:

> In equal obscurity exist the lance breaker, the ringstealer, the false pigtail and the restorer of quartered shields and the herald of arms. The words of other word-jugglers which can be written or painted are full of hidden meaning and secret significations which in their noble rhymes and knightly speech symbolize hope or "espoir" by depicting an eye or maypole and a sphere or globe; for pain and a feather [pein und penn], a feather pen (see above for Tabourot p. 158) or leg [bein]; for melancholy the herb anchovy, a half-moon for an improving life; a broken bench for a depraved bankrupt; "non" and a cuirass or corselet for a loose costume or character that is "non dur habit" = *Non durabit* [it will not survive]; a bed without the sky or *Lit sans ciel* for a licentiate; a globe with a lyre for the world is a *laur*.[190] An apple, lion, mouse, whey, stork, farthing, a piece of rope, stag, head, bee, knife, fir-tree, pinewood, zero, wood, spoon, light, Oh *appel*, lively mouse. Strong emotions grip my heart; unfortunately

189 The Joycean language of Fischart is notoriously difficult to understand and translate particularly where the context is obscure or non-existent. The few words which I have not been able to identify I have left in italics. Some of the German puns I have also included for better understanding of his method. These long lists do not add much to Volkmann's argument.

190 G. Schank *Etymologie und Wortspiel in Johann Fischart's "Geschichtsklitterung,"* Kirchzarten: Burg-Verlag, 1978 under the entry for "laur" says this is a reference to Laurentius Surius or Lorenz Sauer 1523–1578, a German church historian. I have also used the glossary in U. Nyssen's *Geschichtsklitterung* (*Gargantua*) *text der Ausgabe letzer hand von 1590*, Düsseldorf: Rauch, 1963–4.

> I am just chaff since I am not a bit charming. Thus rennet, hawk, zero, bell and *külung*;[191] in love I have no happiness nor respite, a simpleton or an artist, hunter, hare, the business of hatred [hassenhass]. A close relation [ohm] of buckets [Eimer] of wine and an ear or hour [ohr und uhr] for love: an orb or nothing for either an emperor or an idiot; a pearl and a clavicord, for Margaret is a key [clavis] to the shrine of my heart, an A and a sow [mor] for Amor; the world [mon] for a man; a body [leib] and a zieg [goat] for Leipzig; a heart, cushion, dog, a saw and a hen, for I beg you kiss me and talk not: a boat and a bird; for can I as a bird say these things….. all of which are uncultivated and unlettered, foolish and barbaric homonyms and puns or similar word-juggling and anyone who as from today should be found attempting to use them should have a fox-tail tied to his neck and his face pushed in the mud."[192]

Then there follow many more absurd examples of things that could easily be confused one with another or that seem completely synonymous, and finally he says:

> Such shapes occur when the sounds of the words necessarily conform. So I will paint a banner and a brush will describe the abandonment of my lovemaking and my tormented soul will visit purgatory; so, a calfs-head for my bald head, a mustard vessel [hafen], that violently destroyed my hopes [hofen], a pot of mustard that makes my heart stop [mouletarde[193]], a kind of must [grape juice = *Most art*] just as a new wine handicaps one from…. an owl and snail, Hasten slowly (thus a new twist for this popular saying) … It is a vain idle fish.[194]

Fischart now brings up "Egyptian" hieroglyphs as better examples of such pictographic writing, but in the confused way he does this, he eventually surpasses Rabelais and paradoxically parodies this most famous emblematic writer, continuously sowing mischief everywhere. He says:

> The wise men of Egypt have since time immemorial done things differently since they wrote with the picture-writing and inscriptions which are called Hieroglyphs—and which no one understands unless they

191 Külung in modern German means "cooling" but in this context that is unlikely.

192 Compare the exact passage in Rabelais p. 146 above.

193 See the original Rabelais, p. 146 nt. 28 above: mouletarde is an abbreviation for moult ne tarde = do not delay.

194 Presumably a pun referring to himself.

did understand the nature, power and property of the things thereby described and depicted;[195] the Emperor as an elephant; a large ear indicating a wise simpleton; a dove signifying weak-mindedness; a snake, cunning; a wolf, voraciousness; a fox, thievishness; a dolphin, gentleness; Rüriss[196] the horse, war [krig]; a cock, victory [sig]; a dog, obscenity; an ass, impertinence; a saw, waste; a snail, sluggishness; once again, absurdity [wider widersinnig]; a wolf-bitch, intercourse; an ass, an old codger; a circumcision chair, a woolcarding bench [*cartetschbanck*[197]]; hatred signifies timidity; a mouse, damage; a cat, women's fuss; a mole, blindness; a stork, piety; a crane, bravery; an owl, wisdom; an eye, a sensation; a griffin signifies speed; a dead horse is putrid; a crocodile, faithlessness; a mole means a mole; a bushel, a councillor; an armchair, a judge; a pulpit, a sermon; two fingers above a chalice signifies a priest; a chalice on a map of Munster indicates a Hussite; a lamp, a *Candelabrum patriae* [light of the fatherland]; a man's head, a scholar; a donkey's head, an idiot; a fish, a silent individual; a swallow, unpleasantness; a nightingale, music; a hunt means gossip; goose, silence; a peacock is pride; a cuckoo is a good man; he who angrily cuts the strange shoes by his wife's bed—the legs also [Binen einig]; a crumb signifies sickness; a spider's web denotes work; a crab signifies behind oneself; a frog, beauty; ivy equals old age; a pasture means barren; a mulberry tree means big mouth [maulbeer ein maultäsch]; figs signify a box on the ear [feigen ohrfeig]; an apple equals a word-game [meydlinspiel]; a pipe is tenderness or fickleness; thorns signify hatred; lilies, beauty; nettles, illness; Ruth signifies compassion; beans mean chastity; onions signify weeping; a pumpkin, useless hope; an olive branch, joy; from which one can see that God rather values such signs because he spoke through Noah in the Ark with a raven, a dove and an olive branch; also Jonah from the whale [kürbs = pumpkin?] professes vain hope, thus *cito quod fit, cito perit* [what is done quickly perishes quickly].[198] As such, the hieroglyphs are cleverly derived from that very

195 This last sentence is direct from Rabelais.

196 I have been unable to discover the origin of Rüriss. Nyssen also suggests that it may be a misreading, a misprinting or a pun on the word Küriss meaning cuirass or armor, the black letter "K" being almost indistinguishable from the "R".

197 This is the suggestion of Nyssen.

198 Volkmann cites here as the origin of this phrase the *Book of Jonah* chapter 4 and Alciato, presumably intending the latter's *Emblemata*, but there is no such reference either in Jonah or Alciato. The phrase does appear as the lemma for Otto Vaenius *Amorum Emblemata* (1608), emblem no. 110 and Florentius Schoonhovius *Emblemata* (1618), no. 21. Fischart mentions the pumpkin twice as the symbol of vain hope and the origin is the pumpkin of Halloween as the symbol of death and the dictum from Horace (Odes

> ancient Horapollo, from the Dream of Poliphilo, from Pierio Valeriano, Celio Calcagnini, Herold, Goropius[199] and Schartzialupi (probably the doctor, Marcello Squarcialupi, second half of the sixteenth century)[200] by whom the hieroglyphic sacred writing was deciphered. In addition many emblem writers bloomed and flourished during this period, Sam buch (Sambucus), albums (Stammbuch!), Holderstock (translation of Sambucus!),[201] Aldus, Hadrianus Brachmonat (Junius! See p. 96 above), Reusner (p. 99), Holtzwart, Fischart, Paradin (p. 108), Jovius (Giovio p. 103) as well as many other composers of devices.

Basically however, Fischart had already hinted at this "flourishing" of the art of hieroglyphics which he employs in this unique artistic conception, in his didactic poem "Art"[202] where he seeks the very nature of the truth of the "Gemel" [Image]: that it

> is not only the eyes that see,
> but the heart which revives and beautifies.

What is represented therefore must go beyond merely a bible story but must be

> A poetic object, a painted poetry,[203]
> An art of learning and a painted philosophy,

1.4): *Vitae summa brevis spem nos vetat incohare longam*, "the brevity of life forbids us to entertain hopes of long duration."

199 Goropius Becanus (1519–1575) attempted to prove that the original world language was that of Brabant since this language had short and simple words. He said the same about the origin of the hieroglyphs about which he wrote a treatise, *Hieroglyphica* in 16 books, and which was published posthumously by Plantin in 1580, thus after the publication of the *Geschichtsklitterung* (1575). Both J. J. Scaliger and Leibniz described Goropius' work as nonsensical.

200 Squarcialupi (1538–1592) was a medical doctor and astronomer who wrote books about the plague and about comets. I have not been able to discover any references by him to the hieroglyphs.

201 The Latin name for the elder tree is Sambucus. Holder (elder) derives from the Scandinavian goddess Hulda, goddess of love and Holderstock was said to be a term of endearment exchanged by lovers.

202 *Deutsche Dichter des 16 Jahrhundert* (eds. K. Goedecke and Jul. Tittmann), vol. 15 (v). Published by Brockhaus in Leipzig, the poem is in vol. 15 p. 181.

203 This famous phrase "Painting is silent poetry, and poetry spoken painting" supposedly originated with Simonides, the Greek poet (556 BCE–468) and was perpetuated in the phrase of Horace in his *Ars Poetica* 40 BCE) as *ut picta poesis.* It was also the title of an early emblem book, Aneau's *Picta Poesis*, Lyon: Bonhommme, 1552.

just as in the same way ancient artists achieved true glory from profound preparation.

> Thus these things testify, that the foundation of painting
> Derived from the first Egyptian script.
> All knowledge and theology,
> Was called hieroglyphics.

And so with such ideas the subject of German hieroglyphics flowed into a larger stream of allegory which in the seventeenth century and through emblematics resulted in ever greater dilution and compression. We will not investigate the field any further by means of inadequate attempts at analysing the theory of hieroglyphics but in the next chapter will give brief consideration to its origins by describing some typical examples.

Excursus 4: On the Origin of Aldus' Printers Mark and the Motto *festina lente*

The dolphin and anchor with or without the motto *festina lente*, "hurry slowly", is one of the most recognizable literary symbols of the Renaissance representing as it does the most distinguished publishing house of the time, the Aldine Press. Aldus published his first book in about 1493[204] and the House of Aldus did not close its doors until the death of his grandson Aldo more than a century later in 1597. During the first years of the existence of his press Aldus had pioneered the publication of the Greek classics, the invention of italic type and the small format portable book and the Aldine press became identified with the printer's mark, the anchor and the dolphin. This Excursus examines the origin of this famous mark and its close relationship with the motto *festina lente*.

The first source of Aldus' inspiration was the coin shown by Volkmann in fig. 57 which Aldus had been given by his friend Pietro Bembo (later a Cardinal and originator of the name for modern Bembo type) probably, according to Dorez, around 1500.[205] Aldus was obviously very proud of the coin and later he showed it to Erasmus as the latter reports in the *Adages*[206] and he had brought it to Milan and shown it to Grolier or his father as the inscription in the illustration says.

204 The first books that Aldus printed were undated.

205 Dorez p. 158.

206 Adage II, I, 1, *Festina Lente.*

FIGURE 59
The medal of Aldus. Collection of Scott Clemens.

The motif of the dolphin and anchor on its own was most likely originally intended to commemorate Neptune god of the sea[207] and was fairly common in Roman times; the Emperor Domitian (81–96 CE) had a similar coin but that of the Emperor Titus (ruled 79–81 CE) which Aldus possessed does not however have the motto *festina lente* although Aldus did have, also around 1500, his own medal copied from it and this included the motto. The motto and the image of dolphin and anchor did however appear together on an ancient coin, one of Augustus, the most illustrious emperor of all, ruling (alone) from 27 BCE to 14 CE and this is recorded in the *Discorsi* of Enea Vico of 1556.[208]

The motto, *festina lente*, had its own separate, distinguished and ancient origin. Augustus adopted it as his motto and according to several classical sources,[209] employed it continually in conversation and correspondence. In turn the motto may have derived from a line in Euripides from the fifth century BCE.[210] Erasmus in his entry in the *Adages* quotes extracts from many other classical authors, Sallust, Aristotle, Bias, Publianus, Sophocles and Plato, all expressing the proverb or variants of it. And there are many other instances of the trope from the period. Alciato's emblem (*Emblemata* 1531 fol. B2r) has the dolphin and the anchor but a different motto "princeps subditorum incolumitatem procurans" [The prince striving for the safety of his subjects] and in other contexts there were other combinations of the fast and the steady: a butterfly and a crab; a tortoise with a sail; a dolphin and a sail, a falcon carrying weights,

207 Although see p. 57 nt. 128 where Fasanini describes how he has seen the motif as a hieroglyph on one of the obelisks in Rome.

208 *Discorsi di M. Enea Vico Parmigiano: sopra le medaglie de gli antichi, divisi in dve libri*, Venice: Giolito, 1555, p. 56.

209 Aulus Gellius (*Attic Nights*, x. 11), Macrobius, (*Saturnalia*, VI) and Suetonius (*Life of Augustus* XXV. 4).

210 In line 559 of the *Phoenissae*, Polyneices says "a steadfast general is better than a bold one," apparently also a favorite dictum of Augustus.

a remora round an arrow, an eagle and a lamb, a blindfolded lynx etc., etc.[211] Edgar Wind explains how this obsession with contrasts derives from the philosophical talking point of the "coincidence of opposites," opposites which can only be resolved in the oneness of God.

There is a another clue to Alciato's interest in the trope in the dedicatory letter that he wrote to his patron Alberto Pio de Carpi[212] in an edition of a collection of works on astronomy, *Scriptores astronomici* veteres, that was published in the last months of 1499. He says that the dolphin and the anchor were his constant companions adding the words "as they might say" ("ut oportere aiunt"). Dorez thinks that this phrase indicates that Aldus at that moment had the spoken proverb in mind as well as the image, that is that the translation should be "as they are accustomed to say" with the emphasis on "say." But Firmin-Didot in his French translation of the passage omits the phrase entirely[213] and it seems more likely that it is a comment on Aldus' metaphorical use of the words "constant companions." Aldus certainly knew of the maxim *festina lente* since he mentions it in the dedicatory letter to Marino Sanudo in his edition of the collected works of Poliziano published in 1497 and he could also find the combination, motto and image, in another book that he was printing at that very moment, the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphi*, which came off the press in December 1499 only two months after he had written the letter to Pio de Carpi cited above. In the *Hypnerotomachia* the motto *Festina Lente* is mentioned specifically accompanying an image of the anchor and the dolphin and is referred to elsewhere in the book so it is likely that Aldus had inspiration from this source also.

So, during 1500 the dolphin and anchor was very much on Aldus' mind: he had referred to it in letters, he may just have been given the Titus coin by Bembo, he had just published the *Hypnerotomachia* and he had just had his own medal made showing the dolphin, the anchor and the motto. The Fast and the Steady, the motifs of Dolphin and Anchor, must have summarized his business model perfectly. It is no surprise therefore that the first depiction of the mark in one of his publications was at the same time. It appears rather abruptly and unexpectedly in the middle of the second volume of a work he published in 1501/2, the *Poetae Christiani Veteres* [Ancient Christian Poets] on

211 The origin of each of these motifs can be found in Wind, p. 98 nt. 4. See also S. K. Heninger, Jr., *Touches of Sweet Harmony*, Angelico Press, 2013 where Heninger discusses *Concordia discors* and sees it as an essential attribute of the orderly cosmos.

212 Di Carpi was an appropriate dedicatee since Aldus had been his tutor and he had funded the foundation of Aldus' press.

213 Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Alde Manuce et l'Helénisme à Venise*, Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1875, p. 129.

a page of its own after an extract from one of the poets.[214] Thereafter it appeared in every publication issued by the House of Aldus.

Excursus 5: On the *Symbola of Pythagoras* and Alciato's Emblem "Do not sit on a bushel"

Among the many sources of material for the emblem books were the so-called *Symbola* of Pythagoras,[215] a series of moral injunctions which came down to the Renaissance from classical times or earlier. A few of these such as "Abstain from beans," "Do not step over a balance," "Do not sit on a bushel," are no doubt familiar to us but there were many more and as is to be expected from such an ancient corpus there was much discussion among Renaissance scholars as to their origin, authenticity, history and meaning. The emblem authors including Alciato, La Perrière, Bocchi, Corrozet and others used them as motifs for their emblems and thus contributed to the ongoing debate as to their interpretation and significance. This Excursus summarizes the history of the Symbola and their principal commentators and as an example of the Renaissance use of a *symbolum* as source material examines Alciato's emblem, "do not sit on a bushel," mentioned by Volkmann. This demonstrates the typically complex origins of Alciato's emblems and how their treatment, especially that of the *pictura*, evolved over the long publication history of his book.

Pythagoras flourished in the latter part of the sixth century BCE. He was a philosopher, mathematician and religious leader about whom Arthur Koestler has said enthusiastically: "Pythagoras' … influence on the ideas, and thereby, on the destiny of the human race was probably greater than that of any single man before or after him."[216] In about 530 BCE, he established a school at Croton in southern Italy which today we would disparagingly call a sect since he expected his students or disciples to lead upright and moral lives as well as to learn and it was to this end that the tradition of the *Symbola* arose. Pythagoras supposedly committed nothing to writing and most of what

214 There are two printing dates given in this volume in different extracts from the poets. One is January 1501 and the other June 1502. So it seems probable that the extracts were printed at different dates and then assembled for publication.

215 The *Symbola* were originally written in Greek but in this Excursus I have used the traditional Latin translations.

216 Koestler, 25. However Pythagoras was not responsible for the famous theorem for calculating the length of the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle which was known in some form to the Babylonians 1,000 years earlier. A clay tablet illustrating the so-called Pythagorean triples is in the Columbia University Rare Book Library (Plimpton Cuneiform 322).

we know about him comes from the biography written by Iamblichus (c. 240–327 CE)[217] according to whom Pythagoras had two classes or levels of student, the *mathematici*, the learners, and the *akousmatici* or listeners.[218] Pythagoras' precepts for his students were initially termed *akousmata* or things heard, a word obviously associated with the *akousmatici* but over the centuries *akousmata* slowly became obsolete in favor of *symbola*.[219] For Iamblichus at least the two words were synonymous.

Thus we can conjecture that the reason for the adoption of the word *symbola* as the term of choice for the Pythagorean precepts was that the latter were also perceived as having a secondary meaning beyond the simple ethical injunctions ascribed to Pythagoras. This becomes apparent when we survey the surviving lists of the symbola and the commentaries on these lists given by writers over the following centuries.

The symbola have a simple proverbial quality about them and it is very likely that some of them at least were in general circulation before the time of Pythagoras or were added to the canon afterwards. One is to be found in Hesiod who wrote about 150 years before Pythagoras and Hesiod's *Works and Days* contains other maxims which even if they were never actually attributed to Pythagoras have a similar quality. It is easy to believe that many such earlier proverbial phrases might have been attributed to the Pythagoreans in the same way as the eponymous theorem of the master.

The canonical order, number and text of the *symbola* is usually taken to be that of the list of Iamblichus in his *Protrepticus* which contains thirty-nine entries although there are more given in other lists over the centuries which together with those from Iamblichus total at least fifty-seven different *symbola*. This total excludes those which were apparently extant during the Renaissance but do not appear on any of the earlier lists, for instance the *Adoraturi sedeant*, "Let those who are about to worship be seated," commented on by Mignault and Erasmus. But of this total less than a dozen were in common circulation and these for the most part are those used by the emblem writers, such as: "Do not poke a fire with a sword" (Protrepticus 8), "do not step over the beam of a balance" (13), "do not sit on a measure (bushel)" (18); "do not eat a heart" (30). Other symbola were common to many of the lists but do not seem to have been favorites of the emblematists, for instance: "Do not use the public ways but walk in

217 Porphyry (234–c. 305 CE), a contemporary of Iamblichus, wrote a much shorter life of Pythagoras which also includes reference to the symbola. A English translation by K. S. Guthrie can be read at http://www.tertullian.org/fathers/porphyry_life_of_pythagoras_02_text.htm (11/17/17).

218 See Taylor passim.

219 See Hölk whose dissertation discusses the relationship between *akousmata* and *symbola* and compares the wording, order and number of the symbola to the examples given by Pythagoras' followers and later classical writers. Supposedly the *akousmatici* had to listen behind a curtain—the full significance of the discussion was thus veiled from them, an element that added to the tradition of the secrecy of the symbol.

unfrequented paths" (4) and "when you reach the boundary of your country, do not look back." This latter is not in Iamblichus but it is in Plutarch's list in his essay "On Childhood Education"[220] in the *Moralia*, an essay which was translated by Guarino as early as 1410–1411. This list also included short interpretations.

In the Renaissance we can single out the work of Marsilio Ficino who by 1474 had translated two almost identical manuscripts of the *Protrepticus* from the Vatican[221] which contain the full complement of the *symbola* and Filippo Beraldo who wrote a short treatise, *Symbola Pythagorae Mystica, aurea sacrosancta* [The golden, sacred and mystical Symbols of Pythagoras] where he comments on the principal *symbola* and places them within the context of the different meanings of the word *symbolon* as defined by classical authors. One amusing reference he makes is in the context of the symbol as a ticket to a feast where he highlights the antonym *asymbolum* which characterizes someone who brings nothing to the festivities and is therefore a miser or cheapskate. Then there are the *Adages* of Erasmus first published in 1500 who in the 1508 Aldine edition incorporates thirty-six *symbola*. Erasmus demonstrates their popularity by positioning them as the very first of all his 4,251 proverbs, that is, the extraordinary total he reaches in the final version of his great work.[222]

Many contemporary commentators took the opportunity not just to recite these lists and their interpretations but also to expound on the theoretical nature of symbols in general. Claude Mignault (Minos) whom we know as the commentator on Alciato over the long period from the edition of the *Emblemata* of Dion a Prato in 1571 to that of Richerii in 1602,[223] was one of these. He introduces his commentaries with a "*Syntagma de symbolis*," which over subsequent editions he elaborates and extends. In the 1602 edition, he adds what he calls "A few words in passing" on the Pythagorean symbola. In fact these few words extend to many pages and cover thirty-five symbola with an extensive commentary on each. This insertion by Mignault was not original

220 Plutarch, XVII. All the quotations from Plutarch are taken from the edition in the Perseus Project translated by Frank Cole Babbitt.

221 Ms Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 4530 and Vat. Lat 5953. Ficino's translations are reprinted in Gentile 57. See also the discussion in Laurens 43.

222 There were many other Renaissance authors who wrote treatises on the *symbola*. Commentary on many of these, a list of the *symbola* they quote and the relevant extracts from their treatise is included in Laurens. The authors include Poliziano, Antonio degli Agli (Laurens p. 51), L. G. Giraldi (Laurens, p. 421), L. B. Alberti (Laurens p. 31), Pomponio Brunello, Francesco Berni, Abraham Fraunce, Giovanni Nesi (Laurens p. 401), J. A. Brassicanus (Kohlburger) (Laurens p. 113), Erasmus in the *Adagia*. These texts are also referenced in the Bibliography below; additional references can also be found in the *Sentences* of Stobaeus.

223 Mignault died in 1606 but his commentaries are included in later editions of the *Emblemata* notably Tozzi's of 1621.

but was a copy of the commentary that he had already given in the 1571 edition of the *Adages* which he had edited. As Laurens[224] points out although there are two or three differences between the entries in the Adages and those in the Syntagma in general the origin of both is the list of Iamblichus.

The symbola were therefore ideal material for the emblem writers. Not only were they widely known but they were as we have seen both by definition and in practice sayings which by their brevity and obscurity invited interpretation. The subtitle to Beroaldo's treatise "*Symbola Pythagorae..... quae aenigmata nominantur*" [Pythagorean Symbola ... which are called enigmas] gives the flavor of the genre. C–F Menestrier also cites the symbola as a prime example of enigmas in his *Philosophie des Images Enigmatiques.* He calls them "a jeu d'esprit and an ingenious artifice to excite the curiosity and exercise the subtlety and intelligence of those who seek their meaning."[225]

Many emblem books used the symbola as motifs and naturally we start with Alciato although one could have expected in view of Mignault's extensive exposition, that the former would have made greater use of them. I will examine Emblem 81,[226] *desideam abiiciendam* or "idleness should be avoided" which illustrates the *symbolum, super modium ne sedeas*, "do not sit on a measure" (Protrepticus 18). In Greek the word measure is given as χοίνικα (*koinika*) or in Latin choenice or modius; in English this is translated by some as peck and by others as bushel, although the latter, the bushel, is in theory substantially larger, being equal to four pecks.[227] In any event, the interpretation of the *symbolum* to mean that one should not be lazy is confirmed by Plutarch in his commentary who adds, as does Diogenes Laertius, that the real moral is that we should have forethought in providing for our daily bread. This suggests that the measure they are sitting on is a sack of grain which is how Ficino puts it in the first draft of his translation of the *Protrepticus*. Alciato urges us further; don't just sit there, he says in the epigram in Emblem 81: "*Surge igitur*", "get up and get on with it!" It is interesting that in the 1531 edition Steyner made use of a pictura depicting a winged woman helping a man climb a mountain which is more appropriate to this latter admonition than the authorized *pictura* chosen by Alciato for later editions which reverts to the bushel.

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224 Laurens, 166.

225 Menestrier, 11: "Un jeu d'esprit & un artifice ingenieux pour embarasser la curiosité & pour exercer la subtilité & la penetration de ceux qui en cherchent le sens."

226 I have used the 1577 Plantin edition with Mignault's commentary where the infamous scatological emblem has been omitted.

227 A peck is a measure equivalent to two gallons. *Modius* is both a generic term for a measuring vessel and a specific weight. The modius as a measure of wheat, symbol of fertility and generative power is demonstrated by the traditional depiction of the Hellenistic god Serapis wearing a modius on his head.

FIGURE 74
Alciato. Emblemata. 1577. Emblem 80. Essaeus Standing.

FIGURE 75
Alciato. Emblemata. 1618. Emblem 80. Essaeus Sitting.

Perhaps to emphasize his point about laziness Alciato uses the same motif in two consecutive Emblems. Emblem 80 is headed *Desidea* with the epigram reading:

> Essaeus relaxes on a bushel, observing the stars/ and he covers a lighted torch beneath it./ Laziness, even with the appearance of virtue, covered with a hood,/ is of no use to itself nor anyone else.[228]

The pictura of this Emblem in the earlier editions of the *Emblemata* presents a problem. Not only is Essaeus in fact standing but there is no bushel in sight so he has

228 "Desidet in modio Essaeus, speculatur ad astra/Subtus & accensam contegit igne facem./ Segnities specie recti, velata cuculo,/Non se, non alios utilitate iuvat."

nothing to put the lighted torch beneath. Only by the edition of Tozzi is he sitting again and this reflects the trend in several of Alciato's emblems where only very slowly as new editions of the *Emblemata* were published did revisions of the *pictura* catch up with the detail of the epigrams. But this emblem must do more than castigate laziness since even a lazy man would be reluctant to put a flaming torch beneath a measure of wheat on which he was sitting. In fact the emblem conflates or confuses the injunction against laziness with a reference to Mathew 5.15 which says in the Authorized Version: "neither do men light a candle and put in under a bushel (*modius* in the Vulgate) but on a candlestick; and it gives light to all that are in the house."

Finally, we can repeat the question of Mignault: *Qui Essaeus*, "Who is Essaeus," that is, who is the gentleman depicted relaxing on the bushel? Mignault, in his commentary, identifies him as an Essene whom he describes as a Jewish sect living very poor, hard lives and who had different "institutions" although he does not indicate how these institutions were different. As it happens, Alciato did have a special interest in the Essenes. In his *Epistola Contra Vitam Monasticam*,[229] a short tract which Karl Enenkel[230] dates from 1517 to 1518, he criticizes the contemplative aspects of monastic life in contrast to the benefits given by manual labor and the other aspects of the lifestyle by which he characterizes the Essenes. But within four years, by 1522, Alciato had become very nervous that his tract was verging on the heretical and he attempted to have all copies of it burned. We have seen in Excursus 2 that the *Emblemata* was initially composed at about the same date that is in the early 1520s and it would be easy to suggest that Alciato's characterization of Essaeus in the emblem as the archetypically lazy man was some attempt to indicate his contrition for his earlier praise of the Essenes. However this emblem was not added to the corpus until the expanded edition of 1546 when presumably Alciato's fears were a thing of the distant past. It is likely that Mignault, as part of his research into the origins of Alciato's emblems, had also read the *Epistola Contra Vitam Monasticam* since that also mentions with approval the "institutions" of the Essenes.

Excursus 6: *Philosophia comite regredimur*

The page following page 102 of the original edition (1923) of Volkmann's *Bilderschriften* contains an unnumbered leaf which is pasted in and headed *Nachtrag zu Seite 102* [Supplement to page 102]. The second German edition (1969) does not contain this supplemental page which discusses the *Emblematum Tyrocinia* of Mathias Holtzwart (1581), an emblem book with an introduction by Fischart himself. There is footnote to

229 "Letter opposing Monastic Life."

230 Enenkel, 297. See also D. L. Drysdall (ed. and trans.), *Andreae Alciati Contra Vitam Monasticam Epistula*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniana 36, Leuven U. P., 2014.

this Supplement referencing the capbadge of Gargantua which I described above but in the present case the badge is stated to have a different motto and this motto raises interesting questions which are the subject of this Excursus. What does the motto mean? What is its relationship with the image on the capbadge which is derived from Plato's Symposium? Why is it different from the motto used by Rabelais in the original of Gargantua?

First then the text of Volkmann's pasted-in Supplement:

Johannes Fischart's interest in emblems is also testified in the preface he wrote in one of the works of the "poet" Mathias Holtzwart. This latter was born in Harburg and lived in Rappoltsweiler[231] and his book carries the cumbersome title, *Emblematum Tyrocinia: or picta poesis latinogermanica.*[232] *Das Ist. Eingeblümete Zierwerck oder Gemälpoesy. Innhaltend Allerhand Geheimnis Lehren durch Kunstfündige Gemäl angepracht und Poetisch erkläret. Jedermännliglichen beydes zu sittlicher Besserung des Lebens und Künstlicher Arbeit vorständig und ergetzlich. Durch M. Mathiam Holtzwart. Sampt eyner Vorred von Ursprung Gebrauch und Nutz der Emblematen Zu Strasburg bei Bernard Jobin 1581.* (The Latin introduction is dated 1576) The title of the Introduction reads *Kurtzer und Woldienlicher Vorbericht von Ursprung Namen und Gebrauch der Emblematen oder Eingeblümeten Zierwercken J. Fischart G* (*genannt*) *Mentzer D* [A Short and Convenient Preface on the Origin of the names and usage of Emblems or Ornamental Flourishes J Fischart G called Mentzer D.] As it is thus expressed, this strange and unfamiliar German title requires an explanation although it is in the typical flowery style of Fischart who provides both etymological and historical sources, some of the authors he mentions being: Alciato, Sambucus, Jovius, Paradin, Johannes Pierius (Valeriano), Goropius [Johannes Goropius Becanus], Guilhelmus Perrerius (Guillaume de la Perrière), Costalius [Pierre Coustau], Bartholomaeus Anulus (Bartholomew Aneau), Achilles Bocchius, Caelius Calcagninus, Herold, Cittolinus, Simeoni, Hadrianus Junius. The relationship of impresa etc. to coats of arms is strongly emphasized; particularly interesting, however, is the following extract from one of the emblems of the learned author [Holtzwart] on printers' and publishers' marks:[233]

231 Now Ribeauvillé in Alsace.

232 For a monograph on Holtzwart, see Michael Lailach *Der Gelehrten Symbola—Studien zu den* Emblematum Tyrocinia *von Mathias Holtzwart* (*Straßburg 1581*) Diss., Universität Tübingen, 2000; see de/dissertationen/lailach-michael-2000-07-05/PDF/Lailach.pdf (11/17/17). Holtzwart's emblems have both Latin and German mottos and subscriptios. In some cases the two versions point different morals; see the discussion on his emblem 47 in the text below.

233 The extract is from Fischart's introduction and not one of Holtzwart's emblems.

> Continuing on, there are also printer's marks which the scholar [Holtzwart] rightly included, realizing that they were absolutely appropriate and much more comprehensible than even those stamps which notaries use.[234] Holtzwart used to collect together in a notebook such symbols and he had none which were inappropriate; in this way he was able to compare his selection to the emblems we have seen.

Holtzwart's own seventy-one emblems, in Latin and German verse with woodcuts, are highly instructive and also relate in general, although not necessarily in detail, to older emblems particularly Alciato's, Thus, the frog as a symbol of the Resurrection,[235] the water-clouding octopus as a flatterer,[236] among others, also occur elsewhere. A particular variation of the old motif symbolizing inhibited aspirations (see p. 36 above) is found in Emblem 47: *Male quaesitum male dilabitur*, [A bad attempt means a bad failure], *Besser arm und from dan reich und böss* (Better poor and pious than rich and evil]: a man with wings on both hands strives up to the sky in a landscape but is hampered by a heavy purse hanging from his feet.

For the fact is that Fischart like Rabelais had very specific things in mind in his ridicule of the excesses of the imprese. Here there are two examples:

> Lorenzo il Magnifico had allowed himself to portray his mistress, as a sphere (sfera) extended round each other, in the sense of "spera" or hope.[237]
>
> The Cap Badge of Gargantua with the strange double primitive being deriving from chapter 14 of Plato's Symposium, has a forerunner in the medal of the doctor and professor of philosophy Mark Anthony Passerini, called de Janua, who was born in 1491 in Padua and died in 1563 in Genoa. The reverse features a double body with two faces and the inscription reads: *Philosophia comite regredimur* [we retrace our steps accompanied by Philosophy].[238]

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234 In his Appendix on printers' marks, Volkmann also lists some notaries' marks.

235 Holtzwart Emblem 70.

236 Holtzwart Emblem 64.

237 See A. Warburg, "Dalle imprese amorose nelle piu antiche incisioni fiorentine," *Rivista d'Arte*, III, 1905, Appendix to no. 7/8 (**v**). An illustration of the device depicting the young Lorenzo with Lucrezia Donati is shown on p. 4 of the article. The original is in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

238 See Menadier in *Verhandlungen der Numismatischen Gesellschaft* [*Proceedings of the Numismatic Society*] Berlin 1887, November 7 (Appendix to the Journal of Numismatics, 1887) (**v**).

This journal is entitled the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* and is on-line at https://archive.org/stream/zeitschriftfrnu05ukngoog#page/n449/mode/2up/search/menadier (5/11/17). Unfortunately the one page which illustrates the coin is blurred and illegible.

First things first: in Rabelais (bk. 1 ch. 9) the motto around Gargantua's cap badge is in Greek Η ΑΓΑΠΗ ΟΥ ΖΗΤΕΙ ΤΑ ΕΑΥΤΗΣ coming from *1 Corinthians* 13.5, "Charity seeketh not its own" meaning that charity (love) does not seek to reward itself. Rabelais' intentions for the quotation in this context has never been definitively established but presumably it is a satirical comment on Plato's androgyne where love obviously does seek itself.

As for the Symposium, Plato describes through the character of the comic writer Aristophanes how the first humans were hermaphrodytes and as a result, inspite of their subsequent division into men and women, have always had the desire to reunite. But apart from the suggestion given above, this motif seems to have little to do with the biblical passage. Fischart either because his knowledge of Greek was limited or deliberately as one of his jeux d'esprit prints the Greek as ΑΓΑΠ ΗΟΥΖΗ ΤΕΙ ΤΑ ΕΥ ΤΗ^Σ that is placing the spaces in the wrong place, thus making nonsense of the phrase. It has been suggested that Passerini based his medal, which includes the Platonic figure of the hermaphrodyte and the motto *Philosophia comite regredimur*, on Fischart but, not being able to make sense of the Greek motto as Fischart reproduces it, found another. Unfortunately this interpretation cannot be correct since Passerini died (1563) before the *Geschichtsklitterung* was published. *Philosophia comite regredimur* presumably means "we retrace our steps accompanied by Philosophy." This is also difficult to reconcile with the motif from Plato although brave attempts have been made to do so. Victor Egger[239] suggests that Passerini being an Aristotelian academic wished to show that the early sixteenth century trend towards Platonism was misguided and retrograde. I suggest an alternative or additional reason. Passerini died in Genoa and his nickname was Genua, or Janua, that is the two faced Roman god who was the embodiment of Prudence; he looked back to the past and forward to the future simultaneously[240] thus emulating the two faced figure on the medal.

239 V. Egger "Sur une Médaille frappée en l'honneur d'un philosophe de l'école de Padoue," *Mémoires de le Société de Maine-et-Loire* 1878, 33/34 pp. 1–17.

240 For example, the etymology of January the month which simultaneously looks back to the old year and forward to the New.

CHAPTER 4

Resonances from the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

In Italy especially, the literature on Imprese continued to flourish and we can mention here just a few examples:[1] Alberto Bernardotti, of Vallombrosa, *Giornata prima dell 'Imprese, Dialog*, from the end of the sixteenth century;[2] Jacomo Sasso of Ravenna, *L'Accademico Acceso*, On Devices, 1600;[3] Andrea Chiocco of Verona, *Delle Imprese*, 1601;[4] Jul. Caesar Cappaccio, *Treatise on Devices*, Naples 1601 (Chap. 3 is on Hieroglyphs);[5] Ercole Tasso, *Della Realtà e perfettione delle imprese*, 1612;[6] Paolo Aresi from Milan, *Imprese sacre*, 1621;[7] Abbé Ferro, *Teatro delle Imprese*, 1623,[8] and many others. In 1621 there also appeared in Padua an extensive edition of Alciato's *Emblemata* published by John Thuilius (Freiburg).[9] How these things gradually became more and more standardized and developed into reference books for practical use, was indicated

1 Volkmann has taken this list from Menestrier's *La Philosophie des Images composée d'un ample Recueil de Devises*, Paris: de la Caille, 1682, in particular pp. 20–24. Menestrier lists a total of fifty authors who wrote on devices to each of whom he devotes a separate section. The additional information about these authors in the following notes is taken mostly from the text of Menestrier. Claude-François Menestrier, described at the time as "that prodigy of nature," was perhaps the most prolific seventeenth century writer on the theory of symbols and images and (according to Renard, cited by Praz, cit., p. 178) had one hundred fifty-two works on aspects of symbolism attributed to him.

2 Actually, Bernardetti. Menestrier says that he has only seen the *Giornata Prima* of the title, that is, the first day's work, but, he says, there may be more.

3 Sasso's work is based mainly on Bargagli.

4 *Discorso sulla natura delle imprese*, Verona: Borghetti, 1601.

5 Carpaccio's (sic) *Trattato* has three books on Devices, Hieroglyphs and Emblems respectively and, in the first book, thirty chapters showing the origin of devices, how they differ from other symbolic literary species and rules as to their proper format and content.

6 The work of Tasso (1540–1613) repeats the names and works of many of the authors already given by previous commentators and sets out eleven criteria for a proper device.

7 Menestrier comments that Aresi's book is one of the "wisest" of all works written on the Device but that it was not well-known perhaps because of the dry style.

8 This book reviews the rules for making devices and continues by comparing the device with nine other symbolic species.

9 The 1621 edition was actually published by Tozzi of Padua; Thulius was the editor. It is regarded as the most complete of all the editions of the *Emblemata*. Consisting of 1003 double

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by the unknown author of the *Hieroglyphicorum Collectanea* already referred to above.[10] The archetype of such an alphabetically arranged collection of models was created by Cesare Ripa in his *Iconologia* which appeared first in Rome in 1593 and 1603, in Padua in 1625, and was reprinted in Venice in 1625. I quote here from a French edition: *Iconologie ou de plusieurs images, emblèmes et autres figures hyerogliphiques* (*sic*) *des Vertus, des Vices, des Arts, des Sciences etc. Tiree des recherches et des figures de Cesar Ripa, moralisées par Jean Baudouin.* Paris 1644 (A Dutch edition with the same woodcuts, Amsterdam, 1644). The text of the work, whose title page has two obelisks with incomprehensible hieroglyphs, suggests expressly that "interested parties" would be orators, poets, sculptors, painters, engineers, medalists, authors of devices, ballets, and dramatic poems. The whole thing is arranged by subject-matter [in alphabetical order]; first Jacques de Bie summarized the topic in an outline panel each of which contain six medallions and then a longer exposition is given for each entry. All the virtues, vices, arts, etc. are personified as allegorical figures and the echoes of ancient hieroglyphs are then reflected in the attributes of these figures. Thus no. 22 *Benignité* [Kindness] depicts an elephant; 25 *Celerité* [Speed], a hawk and dolphin *tiree de Pierius en ses figures hieroglyphiques*, [taken from the hieroglyphic figures of Pierio Valeriano] as the exposition notes; no. 73 *Gratitude* [Gratitude] shows an elephant and a stork, as in Horapollo;[11] no. 91 *Mansuétude* [Docility] again an elephant; no. 102 *Modestie* [Modesty] a scepter with an eye: *un hiéroglyphe de cette Vertu, ainsi représentée par les Prestres Egyptiens*, [A hieroglyph of this Virtue is represented thus by the Egyptian priests];[12] no. 109 *Obéissance* [Obedience] a yoke with the motto *Suave* [Sweet]; no. 119 *Pauvreté* [Poverty] is a woman with wings on the left and a stone in the right hand;[13] no. 130 *Perseverance* (Perseverance) holds a snake biting its own tail for the Egyptian symbol for time;[14] no. 154 *Servitude* [Slavery] is shown with a yoke and a crane holding a stone and this latter also denotes Vigilance at no. 171, while *Tardiveté* [Lateness] is indicated by the well-known turtle; *Compassion* by the Pelican; the compelling power of eloquence by a woman with a caduceus, who is standing on a lion (from Valeriano). Part II contains the four elements, the

column folio pages, it has notes by the editor and three commentators: Claude Mignault (Minos), Francisco Sanchez (Brocensis) and Laurentius Pignorius.

10 See page 170 The *Hieroglyphicorum Collectanea* was incorporated in the 1678 Kirchner edition of Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica.*

11 Horapollo 1.55, *Gratitude*, only uses the stork.

12 Modesty is not given in Horapollo.

13 See p. 37 above for further description of this motif.

14 Horapollo 1.2 meaning the Universe and the renewal of the Year.

continents, seasons, months, meaning, etc. and this too was then imitated frequently in similar works.

At the same time Filippo Picinelli's *Mondo Simbolico, formato d'imprese* (Venice 1670), was published in Italy. This was intended for priests, orators and poets but was illustrated with only a few engravings. The text contains many examples drawn from his predecessors particularly from Valeriano. There is a variant on the theme of the vigilant crane with the stone; other birds also stand sleeping around it and the motto proclaims: *Ut alii dormant* [While others sleep].

Until the early 19th century, the Iconology, the popular genre derived from the device, flourished in Italy. A beautiful example of this is Filippo Pistrucci's *Iconologia ovvero immagini di tutte le cose principali a cui l'umano talento ha finto un corpo.* [Iconology or images of all the main things which human talent has embodied], two volumes, Milan, 1819 and 1821. It includes classical sketches, lightly drawn and tastefully colored. The entries consist of alphabetically ordered allegories symbolized by human figures which are denoted as in Ripa by attributes and have the same relationship to the old hieroglyphs. There is the elephant with lambs for goodness, the crane for vigilance and the turtle for laziness, two heads and an arrow with a snake for wisdom, fire and water for opposition (no. 72, where Valeriano is cited), the crocodile for lust, the caduceus for peace, the yoke for marriage, the stork for gratitude (no. 138), in which Horapollo is cited. Imperfection is characterized by a bear licking her cub, and a female figure holds two frogs in her hand, another reminder of Horapollo.[15] The parts of the world, months, days, hours, Graces, etc. are also included here. So the practical use of these supposed "hieroglyphs" was directly extended right up to the time of the real decipherment by Champollion!

In France, where Ripa's *Iconologie* was reprinted, there was a 1645 work *L'art de faire les Devises* by Henri Estienne, which in chapter 1 refers in detail to the hieroglyphs. In the following year there was published a highly unusual collection of etchings by the famous Jacques Callot, *Lux claustri—La Lumiere du Cloistre. Representees par Figures Emblematiques, dessignees* (sic) *et gravees par JC Paris* [Light of the cloister. Represented by Emblematic figures, drawn and engraved by JC Paris], Francois Langlois (1646). These are very much religiously based emblems especially composed for the monastery with Latin distichs, French verses and extraordinary free etchings by Callot which remind one of earlier emblems in many ways. Thus the representation of Narcissus for self-love goes back to Alciato, the rod with an eye is reminiscent of

15 Horapollo 1.25 denotes "an unformed man" by means of a frog.

"the heavens awake" in the *Hieroglyphica*.[16] In the dedication of the publisher there is also stated unequivocally: *quicquid Hieroglyphice hic adumbratur lineamentisque pingitur* [everything is represented here hieroglyphically and is painted in outline].

Another example of these popular religious emblems is provided by the *Emblesmes sacrez, tirez de l'Ecriture sainte et des Pères*, par François Berthod, Paris, 1699.[17] The crane, inter alia, is found here as a symbol of wisdom.

An important and fundamental work is *L'Art des Emblemes*, Lyon, 1662 by François Menestrier. The first chapter entitled "Wise painters in general" nevertheless properly belongs to hieroglyphics and shows clearly how Egyptian and Greco-Roman, Pagan, Jewish and Christian hieroglyphics and emblematics are united overall in a great mystical picture. As it says on page 4:

> Enfin la peinture n'est pas seulement une imitation nue de la nature, elle sert a l'explication des connoissances les plus recherchées, et depuis les Egyptiens, qui commencèrent les premiers à couvrir leurs mystères sous des hiéroglyphes, toutes les autres nations ont fait gloire de les imiter. C'est de cet art merveilleux, que sont sortis les Emblèmes, les devises, les Enigmes, les Chiffre, les blasons et les empreintes des medailles et des monnoies … Les Hiéroglyphes sont des Peintures mysterieuses, qui font le caractere d'une personne, d'une action ou d'une chose sacrée. Comme quand nous le representons S. Esprit sous la forme d'une Colombe et la Trinité par un Triangle. Les Egyptiens furent les premiers, qui les inventerent pour donner plus de majesté à leurs mysteres en les cachant aux ignorans. Ainsi ils representoient la providence divine par une baguette sur laquelle estoit un oeil. Il semble que c'est de nos livres sacréz qu'ils emprunterent ces mysteres (here speaks the zealous Catholic!) et que les livres de Moyse leur servirent d'idee et de modelle pour ces inventions, dont HorusApollo composa un livre entier [Thus painting is not just an bare imitation of nature, it serves as an exposition of the most refined understanding, and since the time of the Egyptians who were the first to begin to conceal their mysteries by hieroglyphs, all other nations have delighted in imitating them. From this marvellous art have originated emblems, devices, enigmas, cyphers, blazons and the images on medals and coins. Hieroglyphs are mysterious paintings which reveal the character of a person, of an action, of something sacred just as when we represent

16 Callot emblem no 2. It is difficult to distinguish whether it is an eye or an ear which is depicted here.

17 The first edition was Loyson, 1657–1665.

> the Holy Spirit by means of a dove and the Trinity by a triangle. The Egyptians were the first to invent them to give more majesty to their mysteries and to hide them from the ignorant. Thus they represented divine providence with a wand on which there was an eye. It seems that they borrowed these mysteries from our sacred books (here speaks the zealous Catholic!) and the books of Moses served as the idea and the model for such inventions of which Horus Apollo composed an entire book].

Then other authors followed such as Valeriano, Nicholas Caussin and Athanasius Kircher whom we will discuss later; then Menestrier explains the hieroglyphics that had been brought by Pythagoras and Iamblichus to Greece and Italy, touches on the attributes of the ancient gods and the Christian saints, and speaks of the enigmas (puzzle pictures), ciphers, coats of arms, devices and reverses of coins.

In the second chapter he treats of emblems, with Alciato named as the inventor and with Peutinger cited in the dedication, while in Chapter 3 Giovio is singled out as the father of devices. He continues on with the thirty-three conditions for a good device, that is the division into different types, etc., all very tedious.[18] Chapter 12 is entitled: *Les Autheurs, qui ont composé des Emblemes, avec un recueil des plux beaux sur divers sujets* [Authors who have composed Emblems, with a most attractive collection of divers subjects]; in this chapter there is a list, starting with Alciato, of a large number of names and titles of emblem books from different countries, even from Spain, which thus forms an indispensable treasure trove for anyone who wants to research the field.[19] A number of custom emblems in full-page engravings, some of them very rare and complicated, form the conclusion.

A second work by Menestrier, *La Philosophie des Images*, Paris 1682, initially contains a large collection of devices, just text but no pictures, and then an Appendix gives the more important literature on the subject, often associated with sharp criticism: *Jugement des Autheurs qui ont ecrit des Devises* [A critique of those authors who have written about devices]. Anyone who wants to get an idea of the immense mass of this literary tidal wave, only needs to take a look at the index—*lasciate ogni speranza!* [abandon all hope …].[20]

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18 As Menestrier says, Giovio had insisted that there were five requirements for a good device but it was Emanuele Tesauro in the *Cannocchiale Aristotelico* first published in Turin in 1654 who expanded the criteria to thirty-three. If nothing else this shows how quickly these books circulated throughout Europe and were read.

19 He cites twenty-five titles and says there are many others.

20 Canto 3, Line 9 of the Inferno. The last part of the line is of course "all ye who enter here."

A pure replica of the type of the old medieval "Exempla" is the *Livre curieux et utile pour les sçavans et artistes, composé de trois Alphabets ... Accompagné d'un tres grand nombre de devises, Emblêmes, Médailles et autres figures Hieroglyphiques*, Paris 1685 and later editions all by "Maistre Graveur" Nicolas Verien. The first part: *Emblèmes et Devises Latines, Espagnoles et Italiennes*, consists of fifteen small round images on one side, opposite the French and Latin text. The second part is alphabets and hieroglyphic medals, the third part coats of arms and heraldic supporters, consisting mostly of animals known from emblematics.

FIGURE 97 *De la Feuille (Offelen) Devises et Emblemes, 1697 Plate 37.*

The first and second part was almost completely replicated in a Dutch publication which we can now discuss, the *Devises et Emblemes anciennes et modernes, tirees des plus celebres auteurs* [Ancient and modern Devices and Emblems, drawn from the most celebrated authors], Amsterdam, 1697.[21] The editor and publisher was Daniel de la Feuille and the engraver Henri Offelen. The text—significantly for the intended market—was in Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, English, Dutch and (very bad) German.[22] The arrangement of the images is like Verien's, but missing from the latter are a number of cartouche framed emblems, which certainly derive from another source. But we find some old friends again, although the motifs are often borrowed from Verien, the *Symbola* of Typotius or from the 1550 Lyon edition of Alciato from whom in turn Offelen made copies. Thus de la Feuille's Panel 11 derives from Typotius III, nos. 21, 25, 29; Panel 13 from Typotius III, no.s 41, 45, 49; Panel 28 from Typotius III, 1, 5, 9; Panel 37 from Typotius III, 29, 33, 37; Panel 40 from Typotius III, 49, 53, 57; Panel 44 from Typotius III, 9, 13, 17, etc. What's more the whole of Panel 36 of de la Feuille is from Alciato, Lyon 1550, as follows: Image 1 from page 181; Image 2 from p. 67; Image 3 from p. 20; Image 4 from p. 113; Image 5 from p. 10; Image 6 from p. 168; Image 7 from p. 26; Image 8 from p. 45; Image 9 somewhat changed from p. 37; Image 10 from p. 180; Image 11 from p. 60; Image 12 from p. 204; Image 13 from p. 116; Image 14 from p. 40; Image 15 from p. 166. I have undertaken this somewhat tedious comparison this one time as a sample to gain an insight into the mass production of these things at the time for the general public and to understand the origins and far-reaching distribution of these ancient hieroglyphic signs. For instance, here comes a Cupid in a chariot drawn by two lions with the motto: *Etiam ferocissimos domari* [even the fiercest are tamed] a motif derived from Valeriano, book 1 and from Alciato; the sailing ship with the motto *Spes proxima* [Hope is near] is from Valeriano, 45 and Alciato; the Dolphin and Anchor together with a rudder and the motto *Festina Lente* [Hurry slowly] is from Valeriano or the *Hypnerotomachia*;[23] the

21 The first edition was actually printed in 1691 in Amsterdam and there was a second in 1695 from Augsburg. This is a massive compilation of over 700 emblems perhaps intended to be a selection of all the best emblems published in Europe up to that date. For a discussion of the sources of the emblems and reproductions of them see http://emblems.let.uu.nl/fi691_introduction.html (5/11/17). Paravicini is an error by Volkmann for Pallavicini who was the editor of the second edition of de la Feuille's book.

22 Also printed with Russian text in 1705 on the orders of Peter the Great and this is the only Russian emblem book known. The images are printed six to a page. For the sources of this book and of the emblems of De la Feuille see N. M. Maksimovič-Ambodik *Емблемы и символы* [*Emblems and Symbols*] ed. and trans. A. Hippisley, Brill, 1989, passim.

23 And see Excursus 4 p. 221.

elephant with lambs (table 37, no. 6) means *Infestus infestis* [Enemies crush enemies][24] and the elephant worshipping the moon has the motto *Pura placet Pietas* [Pure Piety pleases (God)] which is from Valeriano, book 2; the Dolphin stranded on land has the motto *in eum qui truculentia suorum perierit* [On him who perished from the violence of his own people] from Alciato [Rouille, 1550 edition p. 180]; the crane with stone (De la Feuille, panel 41.10) with the motto *Ne improviso* [Not without warning] from Valeriano, book 17.[25] Countless other relationships with Italian and other imprese are also explained by Typotius in his book; among them is that at Panel 13.5, the turtle with a sail, which signifies *Festina lente* [Hurry, slowly], the symbol of Cosimo Medici.

De la Feuille added an appendix: *Devises d'Amour et Emblemes anciennes et modernes, moralisées en vers français et expliquées en sept langues par Mr. Paravicini* (sic) [Devices of Love and Emblems ancient and modern, moralised in French verse and interpreted in seven languages by Mr. Paravicini]. There are Cupids with all sorts of symbols, and even here old Horapollo casts its shadow, as is shows by Panel 15,4: *Peu à peu*, [little by little] where the bear licking her cubs is drawn next to a Cupid, with the tasteful verses:

> Comme l'Ourse en lâchant façonne son Ourseau,
> Ainsi l'Amant adroit prie flatte, caresse …
>
> [Just as the bear licks her cub into shape,
> So the adroit lover begs, flatters, caresses …]

FIGURE 98
De la Feuille (*Paravicini*). *Devises d'Amour. Plate 15. No. 4. "Little by little."*

24 This motto and image was taken up by Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy in a medal of 1553. See Bury Palliser, p. 232.

25 This motif is also used Emblem 3.27 in Camerarius' emblem book *Symbolorum et emblematum centuriae.* Volume 3 was first published in 1596.

It seems that above all the Dutch had a special weakness for love emblems, perhaps even taking advantage of their gallant neighbors. Here is one of P. C. Hooft, *Emblemata amatoria—Emblemes d'Amour—Afbeeldingen van Minne*, Amsterdam (1611), by Willem Janszoon. These are love sayings in three languages, with engravings, mostly depicting Cupid, Venus, lovers, etc. and they are quite general in nature. In contrast, there are all sorts of echoes of the earlier emblems of the *Amorum Emblemata*, Antwerp 1608 by Otto Veenius (sic) (Van Veen). The engravings in transverse ovals show cupids in different poses, with Latin, Dutch and French poetic extracts. Thus at the beginning there is a Cupid within the ourobouros [the snake circle], the ancient Egyptian symbol of eternity; the picture means love is forever. A salamander in flames has the motto: *Mea vita per Ignem* [My [Love] lives by Fire]. Vaenius had in 1607 already issued the *Quinti Horatii Flacci Emblemata* which was very popular and was reprinted as *Emblemata Horatiana* in 1648.[26]

A pleasant little book in Dutch from the 18th century is mentioned here because of the well-known author, Arnold Houbraken, with his *Stichtelijke Zinnebeelden*, Amsterdam 1723 and poems by Gezine Brit. In a slightly moralizing tone it covers many themes: Death on the throne, the Mirror, the Dog, Fortuna, the Rooster, the Castle, the Study, Adam and Eve, the Mole, the Money Bag, Pygmalion, the Quack, the Cat, the Bee, donkeys, spiders, pigs, owls, rabbits, chameleons, fuel to the fire, Time, the Grave, the times of day, Narcissus, Stork (Let us give thanks!) etc., mixed with ancient citations and, as is evident from the title, here and there reminding us of old emblems. Even Erasmus is cited once.

Turning back to France once again, we meet here in the eighteenth century, two typical large Iconologies like that of Cesare Ripa. However, one of them, although composed by a Frenchman and written in French by Jean Baptiste Boudard (Professor at the Royal Academy of Parma), was published in Vienna and entitled *Iconologie tirée de divers auteurs. Ouvrage utile aux gens de lettres, poëtes, aux artistes et généralement á tous les amateurs des beaux-arts* [Iconology drawn from various authors. A useful work for men of letters, poets, for artists and generally for all the amateurs of the fine arts], Vienna, 1766, from Jean-Thomas de Trattern, Printer and Bookseller to the Court. In the Introduction, the author explains how iconology by means of the personification of all properties and elements of the subject is a poetic tool of painting

26 In the "Cicerone" 1922, No. 1 the entry "not faster than time" is compared to a carpet belonging to Franz van den Hecke, whose design is derived from one of Rubens' students. One can see how this work served as a craft template (*V*). *Der Cicerone* was published by Klinkhardt & Biermann in Leipzig from 1909–1930.

and how the works of Raphael and Poussin present the relevant rules for this. He distinguishes hieroglyphics, emblems, attributes and symbols; mythology is the knowledge of the attributes of the pagan gods and iconology the knowledge of the right attributes of the virtues and vices, just as artists themselves represent the teaching of scholars and poets:

> Ils étudièrent la connoissance des hiéroglyphes, que les Sages d'Egypte avoient inventés, pour exprimer la doctrine de leur Religion, ainsi que leurs sciences morales et politiques. Ces hiéroglyphes étoient quelque fois représentations de figures humaines, mais le plus souvent c'étoient des figures d'animaux différents, des fruits ou des fleurs, selon ce qu'ils vouloient désigner: ils se servoient aussi de diverses figures géométriques. Tous ces signes étoient connus des savants de cette ingénieuse nation, dont l'emploi étoit de les expliquer; pour cet effet ils étoient gravés sur des pyramides ou obélisques que le peuple avoit en grande vénération. L'invention des Emblèmes prit naissance de cette étude des hiéroglyphes, l'Emblème n'etant autre chose qu'une devise hiéroglyphes par laquelle on donne à connoître quelque instruction morale [They studied the knowledge of hieroglyphics which the Sages of Egypt had invented to express the doctrine of their religion and their moral and political sciences. These hieroglyphs were sometimes representations of human figures but most often were different animal figures, fruits or flowers, according to what they wished to designate; they also made use of various geometric figures. All these signs were known to the scholars of this ingenious nation, whose job it was to explain them; for this purpose they were engraved on the pyramids and obelisks that the people had in great veneration. The invention of Emblems arose from this study of hieroglyphs, the emblem being nothing other than a hieroglyphic device from which one learns some moral lesson].

As an example of this commonly held view of hieroglyphs and emblems, he gives the pelican as the symbol of parental love or the protection of the prince; examples of such historical emblems are found on both monuments and medals. If the emblem aids the characterization of an iconological figure, it becomes the attribute of this figure, and if this figure expresses some dogmatic, mystical or moral quality, it is a symbol. As well as the attributes it is just as important to express the emotions behind them. Finally, even the concept of allegory is explained. Then follow in alphabetical order the individual entries with rather simplistic engravings, some of which are reproduced here along with the respective commentaries. As an example, we can take the reference to

FIGURE 99
J. B. Boudard, Iconologie II, 123, "Enmity."

FIGURE 100
J. B. Boudard, Iconologie II, 52, "Poverty is prejudicial to talent."

the Egyptian sign for the *Academie des sciences et belles lettres*: at her feet you can see books and a monkey, "animal dont les Egyptiens sesoient l'hiéroglyph des Belles-Lettres" [the animal which the Egyptians take to be the hieroglyph of Belles Lettres] (derived from the meaning in Horapollo 1.14, of the cynocephalus for *literae*). He often quotes Valeriano without however always using

the information or understanding it correctly; again some of the attributes derive from the *Hypnerotomachia* such as *Contrariété* [Opposites] signified by a vessel full of water and a fire, or *Inimitié* [Enmity] with two arrows pointing in opposite directions (see fig. 16). Then again he refers to Alciato or Cesare Ripa or cites the Bible, Homer, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Boccaccio, Petrarch, Ariosto, Tasso and even Boileau and Voltaire. So we also encounter in this extensive body of work motifs known from the ancient hieroglyphs over a long period of time, such as Poverty signified by a pair of wings and a stone, or Vigilance by a crane and countless others. It is also exactly in the spirit of Pierio Valeriano to attempt another literary work, in which anything from religion, from myth or poetry which permits any allegorical relationship or interpretation is employed. Mention should perhaps be made of *Libre arbitre* (free will) which has a Y on a scepter: *selon Pythagore l'image de la vie humaine qui a un bon chemin et un mauvais*, [according to the Pythagorean image of human life which has a good path and a bad one] (see Geoffroy Tory, [Champ Fleury] fig. 62 above). It would be very stimulating to follow all this in detail but unfortunately this is not possible; we will just have to be content with these few hints.

A very similar work is Gravelot & Cochin, *Iconologie par Figures, ou Traite complet des Allégories, Emblèmes etc.*, [Iconology with Figures, or a complete Treatise of Allegories, Emblems, etc.], Paris, 1790 4 volumes with attractive engravings. The whole aim of the work is just the same, so there is no need for a special description of it.

FIGURE 101
J. B. Boudard, Iconologie III, 199, "Vigilance."

In Germany, several such alphabetically arranged reference books were published after the *Apophthegmata* of Erasmus, but they are without pictures and have a more scientific character. These include particularly the collections of the Freiburg professor Joseph Lange, from the year 1605 which appeared in numerous editions under the title *Loci communes sive florilegium* [The common places or anthology] and also the *Anthologia* or *Polyanthea nova* of 1655 which were published by Jos. Rihel in Strasbourg and Lazarus Zetzner in Frankfurt. Lange in turn used as models the similar collections from the sixteenth century by Annius Mirabellus (Dominicus Nanni),[27] Bartholomew Amantius[28] and Franciscus Tortius;[29] he also derived much of his material from Erasmus transmitted to him by Conrad Lycosthenes (Lyon 1556).[30] As always the fourth work here derived from three similar ones! Human attributes, virtues, vices, etc. are expressed respectively in biblical and secular texts, seals or aphorisms and through the sayings of famous men of antiquity. Emblems and hieroglyphs also played a special role, the latter through the work of Pierio Valeriano including Curio's supplements, while the emblems are taken from Alciato and Camerarius. A second volume of the *Florilegium* was published in 1624 by Jan Gruter,[31] who also published *200 Emblemata* under the name Rhanutius Gherus.[32]

This leads us to other emblematic works published in Germany parts of which are of quite questionable value. Gabriel Rollenhagen, from Magdeburg, at the beginning of the seventeenth century published in Cologne a *Nucleus Emblematum selectissimorum, quae Itali Impresas vocant* [Nucleus of the most select emblems which the Italians call Imprese] with engravings by Crispin de Passe; a French edition appeared under the title *Les Emblemes de Maistre Gabriel Rollenhague* (Cologne 1611). The emblems, all of which are depicted in attractive landscapes, show some echoes of earlier examples; for instance,

27 *Polyanthea*, Savona 1503. Its popularity is demonstrated by some forty editions over a period of one hundred and forty years. The final version is said to comprise two and a half million words.

28 This was then included in subsequent editions of the Polyanthea.

29 Tortius' *Sententiarum opus absolutissimum* from 1560 was also reprinted many times and incorporated in later editions of the Polyanthea.

30 *Apophthegmata* Lyon: Frellon, 1556. Lycosthenes was the penname of Conrad Wolfhart.

31 Jan Gruter (1560–1624) was a prolific writer whose second volume of Lange's work was entitled *Florilegium Magnum*, Frankfurt: 1624. He also contributed to a series of volumes on European poets including *Deliciæ C Poetarum Gallorum* and *Deliciae Poetarum Belgicorum.*

32 This text does not appear to be in Gruter's main collections the *Florilegium Magnum* or the *Florilegium Ethico-Politicae.*

a hand that pours from a jug of flowers, with the motto: *Poco a poco* [Little by little]; a tongue with wings *Lingua quo Tendis* [tongue where are you going] [Rollenhagen 1.42] from Paradin 62; the emblem of the dolphin and anchor from Alciato together with the motto, and the variant inscription *Tutus ut possit figi* [Go safely and you can achieve your aim] [Rollenhagen 1.60]. In the preface, Alciato, Sambucus and Hadrianus Junius are named as sources. Whimsical degeneracies of the emblematic are features of *Atalanta fugiens, hoc est Emblemata nova de Secretis naturae Chymica etc.* [Atalanta fleeing, that is new emblems from the secrets of nature and chemistry etc.] Oppenheim 1618, Theod. de Bry, by Dr. Michael Majer.[33] This shows mythological and allegorical pictures with Latin discourses, to each of which there is added a Latin and a German verse together with notes. The *Emblemata varia* of Gregorius Kleppisius (Leipzig), poetae Caesaris, [Poet Laureate][34] from 1623, are quite profound but have badly designed plates with Latin and German verses in flowery, copperplate handwriting and stiff period costumes—a typical product of Germany's decline resulting from thirty years of war. The first emblem is of a heart under two hammers on an anvil, with the inscription *Dura res est dolor* [sadness is a hard thing]. The somewhat playful link to the rebuses and the puns which were so popular in France, found its German representative in Georg Philipp Harsdörffer from Nuremberg, the co-founder of the BlumenOrdens of the Pegnitz,[35] in his *Gesprächspiele* [Conversation Games], 1642–1649.[36] He goes into detail about the rebus, which he calls *Schriftbild* or

33 On the other hand *Atalanta fugiens* has excellent copper plate illustrations, colored in many issues, and each emblem includes a brief musical composition. These accompaniments can be heard on YouTube.

34 The first Imperial poet laureate was Conrad Celtes in 1497—see p. 178.

35 Founded in 1644 by Harsdörffer and Johann Klaj, this literary society, the *Pegnischer Blümenordnung* or *Pegnitzschäfer*, the Pegnitz shepherds, as it is more usually known, was modelled on an earlier such society, *Die Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft* from 1617 and ultimately the Italian academies. It is the only such society from the period which is still active today. The *Die Fruchtbringenden Gesellschaft* was the first German society to publish emblem books in the vernacular and the first to give each member a device related to that of the Society. See *The imprese of the Fruchtbringende and the Tugendliche Gesellschaft—a comparison* http://arkyves.org/static/misc/kiel_ball.pdf (11/17/17).

36 Volkmann does not do justice to the *Frauenzimmer Gesprächspiele*, which was a vast eight volume encyclopaedia of the social culture of the time and includes many emblems and their interpretation. The book was issued in two editions; the first in two volumes 1641 and 1643 (Praz p. 363, 1641 and 1642) and the second in eight volumes (Praz: 1644–1649). In vol. IV p. 178, Para 3, Harsdörffer describes as *Bilderschriften* those figures which have no or little writing to accompany them and this may be the origin of the title of the present

Bildschrift [Picture-writing], and he also mentions the impresе of the Italians and recounts from Scipione Bargagli among other things the eccentric idea of Bondo Tolomei, who at a tournament carried as a symbol a live bird in a rotating cage, with the motto: *In axe tantum* [Only on an axis].[37] He continues:

> These rebuses are distinguished by their symbolism and are often combined with scripture, just like this, only with the use of particular explanatory words for the purpose. Through such script the Egyptians expressed their beliefs in both natural and supernatural phenomena. In particular, however, these hieroglyphic characters are unwritten names preserved for the benefit of readers.... many of these things have been invented by the Italians, Spaniards and the French but it is not feasible to do the same in German, because they [the puns] have their sources in the ambiguity of foreign forms of expression.

He adduces here all sorts of examples: here again is the famous pun on the false diamond as well as examples of the *notenrebus* etc.[38] But he believes that those based on homonyms which are used by Rabelais are rightly derided—thus, for example, it is ridiculous if someone depicts a pot with tall ears [Ähren] to indicate that he strives for high honor [Ehren], etc.

Two simultaneous Swiss phenomena are entirely attributable to the Germans; for instance *40 Emblemata miscella nova* by Christoph Murer of Zürich [subtitled] *Das ist: 40 Underschiedliche Ausserlesene Newradierte Kunststuck* [40 different newly compiled art works], Zurich 1622, published by John Rüdolff Wolff, with verses by Heinrich Rordorff. The book's allegorical

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work. In the following Paragraph 4, Harsdörffer says that this writing is what the Egyptians used to describe the secrets of nature and all manner of learning.

37 Leonardo da Vinci in his above-mentioned emblematic drawings also depicts a bird in a cage, with the inscription: *I pensieri si voltano alla speranza* [Our thoughts turn to hope] (V). The word *requies* is omitted from the motto *in axe tantum* so that the whole should read *you find rest only on the axis* meaning that the things of this earth are nothing compared to the contemplation of God. Harsdörffer may have obtained the motto from Giovanni Ferro's *Teatro d'Imprese* (p. xxii) and it is used subsequently by Picinelli (emblem 4.1).

38 A rebus made up of musical notes: for instance that on the tombstone of Guillaume Dufay, recognized as one of the principal composers of the fifteenth century, that is: *G du fa y*. See https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e2/Lille_PdBA_epitaphe_dufay.JPG (5/11/17). His works are collected in G. Dufay, *Opera omnia*, ed. Heinrich Besseler in the series *Corpus mensurabilis musicae*, CMM 1, Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1951–1995.

depictions show virtues and vices, fables by Aesop, etc and the image of the sacred ass probably taken from Alciato.[39] The poet certainly derived his rough verses from Fischart and starts with an introductory poem to the "art loving reader" which is strongly reminiscent of Fischart's own didactic poem. He demanded of the art not only amusement but also benefit.

> Because the art of the painter
> Can lead one to the heart of philosophy.[40]

Then he calls upon famous ancient artists as examples and adds the remark:

> In this art there were expressed by many
> the customs of ancient Egypt….

Thus for the hieroglyphic and allegorical expressions of the era, this work is particularly significant and further added to theories of emblematics.

Then there was Conrad Meyer, a painter of Zurich, with his *25 Bedenkliche Figuren mit Erbäulichen Erinnerungen* [Twenty-five Serious Figures with Edifying Meanings] of 1670. He includes German moral sayings with pictures, Bible passages and Latin distichs; thus here's something completely new and original, developed on a purely religious theme.

For the last of these samples, as they were accessible to me just in Leipzig and Berlin and thus could just as well have been chosen differently without changing the overall picture, I describe the work of a namesake: Christoph Franz Volckmann (Prague), *Philosophia Peripatetica, Austriacorum Ceasarum Symbolis adumbrata*, [Peripatetic Philosophy, expressed by the Symbols of the Austrian Emperor) Prague 1673. They are portraits and emblems of Austrian Emperors from Rudolf I to Ferdinand IV with Latin text and odes, a courtly and splendid work, which belongs entirely in the framework of the previous collections of Imprese.

Something has been said above about emblem books in England to which can be added here: *A Collection of Emblemes, ancient and moderne* … by George Wither, London 1635, a collection that is based completely on Alciato, Symeoni and Whitney, among others. An unusual attempt to trace the effects of the emblems in England, was undertaken by Henry Green in his book *Shakespeare and*

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39 Alciato, *Emblemata* (1531), Emblem 7, with the image of an ass carrying a statue of Isis. The ass mistakenly believes that all the admiration is directed at him.

40 A reference of course to the dictum of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace that poetry should be *dulce et utile*, pleasant and useful.

the Emblem Writers, London 1870, a work which is well thought of because of its good overview of the seemingly endless emblematic literature.[41] The origin of emblems as one element of the whole hieroglyphic culture is only hinted at and not properly appreciated; Horapollo especially is only mentioned in passing. But even the supposed allusions in Shakespeare are often quite far-fetched and not immediately convincing; he usually explains them as part of the general trends of the time and without direct models. The only positive relationship with emblematics can be noted in the disputed work, *Pericles* (1609) from Act II, Scene 2. There, in a festive triumphal procession, are six knights with shields upon which are emblems and devices and the meaning of which the king's daughter Thaisa is explaining to her father. Three of these emblems are taken wholly from Paradin, namely a laurel wreath with the motto *Me pompae provexit apex* [the desire for honor carries me forward], an inverted torch with *Quis me alit, me extinguit* [whoever feeds me, extinguishes me] (perhaps coming via Whitney), and a hand in clouds, which holds a coin with the inscription *Sic spectanda fides*, that is, loyalty must be tested like gold. Furthermore, we find it again with a similar Spanish motto, albeit with a different emblem, occuring in French in Corrozet's 1540 *Hecatomgraphie*.[42] Here, then, we can say that there are definite influences from the emblem books. And why should Shakespeare not have known such popular books? A reference clearly appears in *King John*, Act II, Scene 1 where the bastard Philip Faulconbridge says to the Archduke of Austria:

> As the saying goes, you are the hare
> Who boldly plucked the beard of the dead lion.[43]

This is repeated by Alciato in his emblem *Cum larvis non luctandum* [Do not wrestle with the dead], and among others by Whitney, who shows an emblem where hares or rabbits boldly venture close to a dead lion.

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41 For other works by Henry Green see p. 84 nt. 3 above.

42 Just to clear any confusion in this passage, it is the shield of the second knight in *Pericles* who has the Spanish motto *Piu per dolcezza che per forza* which is derived from *Hecatomgraphie*, emblem 27, *Plus par doulceur que per force*.

43 This epigram goes back to the *Greek Anthology* 16.4 (Planudes) and in the context of hares approaching a dead animal casts an implication of cowardice. In the Planudes edition the epigram states in the heading that these words were spoken by Hector as he was being tied to Achilles' chariot (Il. 22.367 ff.) but this is not the case. For a similar emblem by Nicholas Reusner see p. 99.

With this reference to the great English poet, we must now give consideration to later emblem literature and turn to the attempts to pursue a scientific exploration of hieroglyphics in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The work of the Antwerp physician and philosopher John Goropius called Becanus which was published in 1580 by Plantin frequently discusses hieroglyphics and throws a strange light on what in the late sixteenth century was still meant by hieroglyphic "science." Thus in his essay *Hermathena* he mentions hieroglyphics in passing in its relationship to symbolism in general (pp. 20ff); he says there:

> Can there be anyone who believes that the Egyptians lightly and without any rational thought, gave to these things whatever sign came to mind? I do not think so; on the contrary, they created the sacred sculptures and hieroglyphic characters with careful attention to the similarities of things. It was just as people in our time have created what are nothing more than symbols to which remarkable aphorisms have been adapted and given them the name Emblemata.[44]

Then he indulges freely in quite incredible etymologies from which he seeks to derive from Flemish the origin of everything; these etymologies are then continued in his next treatise entitled *Hieroglyphica*, which presents a grotesque mixture of scholarly erudition and fantastic wordgames and according to which all origins should be based on Christian scripture and on Flemish. He proposes (p. 27 ff.) that there were, following Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus, two kinds of Egyptian writing, a popular and a sacred. The hieroglyphs were known only to the priests and served a religious function exclusively. But then he tries to shows no more and no less than that hieroglyphic script does not pretend to write the Egyptian but rather the "Phrygian" or "Cimmerian" language and that these latter peoples are the ancestors of the "Cimbri" that is, the Flemings![45] Neither the Egyptians nor the Greeks, Romans, Phoenicians, Hebrews nor the Chaldeans had any connection to the figures in the hieroglyphic script

44 A literal translation of Volkmann's German text here does not make complete sense but reference to the Latin original clarifies his intention.

45 The Cimmerians were an ancient people originally from the region of the Caucuses who emigrated to the west reaching Sardis which they sacked in the middle of the seventh century BCE and thus were contemporaneous with and neighbors of the Phrygians. However no less an authority than Odysseus reports (*Odyssey* 11.14–19), that the land of Cimmerians was in Italy, where he sailed after his encounter with Circe.

nor even any symbolical significance, only the "Cimmerians." The script is expounded on this basis and he gives many prolix and learned comments and references; etymological conclusions of the boldest kind are then added which often seem just like bad jokes. Thus he says on page 154, in order to understand why the obelisks were thus called in Egyptian, one must ask how they were named in Phrygian, that is in Cimbrisch-Flemish, namely *Speetken* which means a pointed piece of wood, after their pointed shape. And on page 263 he asks how Osiris got his name and who he is; he says very simplistically: *Nos enim per Domino nostro dicimus Onsheer*. [For we call our Lord *Onsheer*]. *Hinc Osir, mutato E longo in I longum* [Hence Osir with a long E is changed into a long I]. Osiris ergo—Noster Dominus est! [therefore Osiris is Our Lord]. In this passage, he combines his knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, as well as repeated Egyptian elements, such as pyramids and obelisks, and especially the Isiac Table of Bembo, from which a number of deities—probably taken from Enea Vico, 1559[46]—are shown in woodcut. For instance on page 110, there is Canopus: "such an image you see in the first circles on the right side of the hieroglyphic Table which has been passed down to us through the library of Bembo." A special role is played by the letter Tau, which corresponds to the Christian cross, which thus originated in Egyptian hieroglyphics. Horapollo and Caelius Rhodiginus are also mentioned occasionally, but without especially deep interest. The whole is a degeneration of the real study of hieroglyphics and a turgid and false learning, behind which is probably hidden an utter and quite understandable helplessness when faced with these mysterious characters. And yet such expressions were taken quite seriously at the time, and the publisher of a treatise on the Bembine Table, Laurentius Pignorius of Padua (1571–1631) pays tribute to Goropius because the latter in one passage had at least wanted to correct the mistakes of the ancient writer. In his *Mensa Isiaca* first published in Venice in 1600 as *Vetustissimae tabulae aeneae … explicatio* [Explanation of the very ancient tablet of Aeneas],[47] later printed in Frankfurt by Mathias Decker under the title *Characteres aegyptii* [Egyptian characters] and which finally appeared in 1670 in Amsterdam from Andreas Frisius, he states that because Egyptian characters in general are inexplicable he is not in a position to find fault with them. However he believes that in earlier times they could be translated but for now he will only attempt to explain the figures on the Table. Often in his text he quotes Horapollo and also Pierio Valeriano at

46 Vico's *Tavola Isiaca* was the first publication with images of the Isaic or Bembine Table.

47 The first edition of Pignorius' critique was dated 1605. Pignorius actually proposed that the characters depicted on the Table were probably meaningless and his view has been accepted by later authorities. The second edition (1608) and third (1669) included images.

whom however he levels occasional criticism. On page twenty-eight he mentions that the scepter of Osiris carries the head of a *Cucupha* which Valeriano incorrectly transcribes as *Cicuma*, that is a kind of stork and Caelius Calcagnini as *Ciconia*; Goropius is happy to call it an *Alauda* (lark) or a *Galerita* (crested lark). They all enthusiastically present these details without coming any closer to a discussion on hieroglyphics. In the Amsterdam edition by the way there is also included a bronze votive hand by Philippus Thomasinus with animal figures and the like depicted on it which is called the *Cecropii votum*.[48] Horapollo, Pierio Valeriano, Peter Crinitus, and Goropius in addition to other classic writers are also mentioned for their symbolic and hieroglyphic interpretations. Pignorius himself published another text: *Notulae extemporariae in Emblemata Andreae Alciati*, Padua 1618 by P. P. Tozzi, and *Commentaria ampliora*[49] [a fuller commentary] to the same, from 1626, further evidence of the relationship between emblematics and hieroglyphics.

Although Pignorius declared that it was impossible to decipher the hieroglyphs, another who in his own way attempted to do so, albeit unsuccessfully, was Monsignor Michele Mercati in his work *Degli Obelischi di Roma* [On the Obelisks of Rome], Rome, 1589. It is just one of the usual rhetorical exaggerations of this wonderfully intellectual moment in time when the introductory poem by Sylvius Antonianus credits the author with having fathomed the shape of obelisks and with knowing:

> Quid tot quadrupedum effigies, quid monstra, figurae
> Insculptae moneant, veterumque Aenygmata mille.
>
> [Why there are so many images of animals, what monsters do these sculptured figures show; and (the meaning of) a thousand ancient Enigmas]

48 Philippus Thomasinus had already published a book about this votive hand *Manus aeneae Cecropii votum referentis dilucidatio* (1649) and an earlier book on the subject *De votis, donariis, anathematis et tabellis votivis*, Udine, 1639. In the third edition of Pignorius edition of the *Mensa Isiaca* (1669) there are also printed two additional texts: the first, *Magnae Eum Matris Idaeae* where there are images of Votive Hands (pp. 3 and 4) and the second by Thomasinus himself *Manus Aeneae Cecropii Votum* where he gives an illustration of the Votive Hand of Cecrops. Cecrops was supposedly one of the first Kings of Attica and the founder of the city of Athens.

49 The *Commentaria Amplioria* is now thought not to have existed but merely refers to the extensive commentary in the Tozzi 1618 edition.

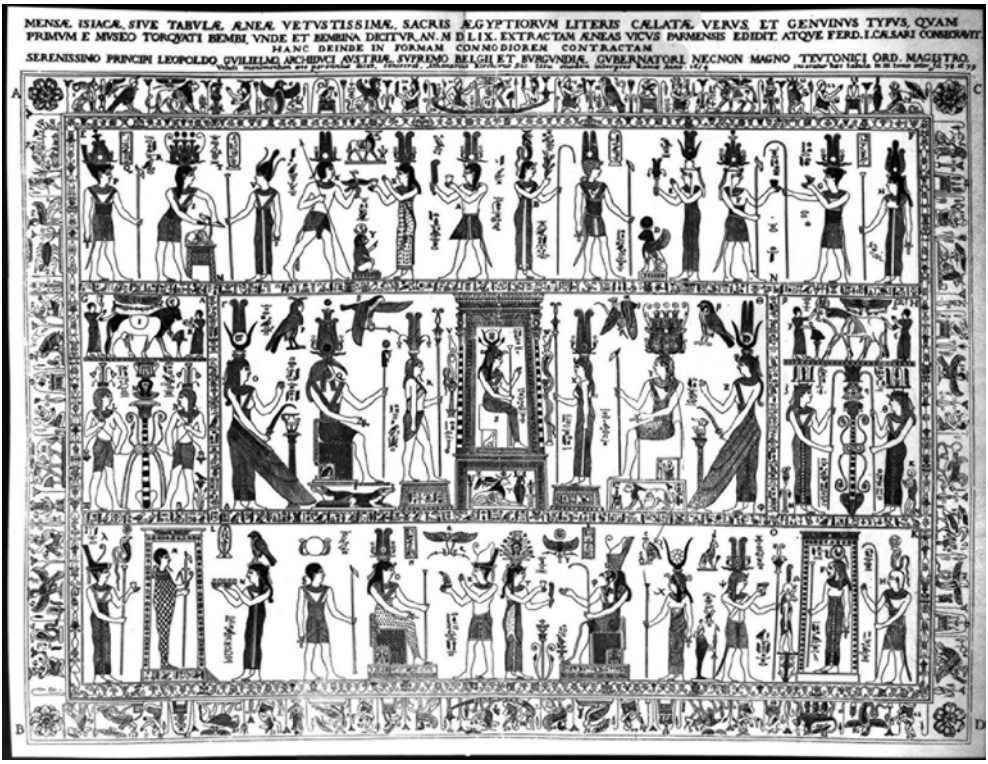
MENSÆ ISIACÆ SIVE TABVLÆ ÆNEÆ VETVSTISSIMÆ SACRIS ÆGYPTIORVM LITERIS CÆLATÆ VERVS ET GENVINVS TYPVS QVAM
PRIMVM E MVSEO TORQVATI BEMBI VNDE ET BEMBINA DICITVR AN. M D LIX EXTRACTAM ÆNEAS VICVS PARMENSIS EDIDIT ATQVE FERD. I. CÆSARI CONSERAVIT
HANC DEINDE IN FORMAM COMMODIOREM CONTRACTAM
SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI LEOPOLDO GVILIELMO ARCHIDVCI AVSTRIÆ SVPREMO BELGII ET BVRGVNDIÆ GVBERNATORI NECNON MAGNO TEVTONICI ORD. MAGISTRO

FIGURE 102 *Lorenzo Pignorius. The Bembine Table.*

His conception of hieroglyphs is set out in Chapter XI of his *Delle lettere Hieroglifiche* [On the hieroglyphic script]. He cites there Diodorus, Tacitus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Herodotus, Plato, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius among others, fantasizing about the invention of writing and already comparing the newly discovered Mexican script with hieroglyphs. Egyptian script, in which the priests had concealed deeper meanings in allegories and fables, was divided into different types. The first type was the actual characters that signify the things themselves, the things they represent. The second type was the figurative hieroglyphs, that is sentences that are represented by one or more characters. The Greeks also employed this type for the attributes of their gods and heroes of which he gives many examples and then goes on to say:

> Also of the same type of hieroglyphic figures are almost all those which the moderns call Emblemata as has been described by Andrea Alciato,

> Giovanni Sambucus and others and which are in part collected from the ancient writers and in part invented with their own imagination. Truly there are many beautiful examples of these and some of them follow here.

What he asks for is that the "hieroglyphs" are instantly recognizable and have a certain novelty or strangeness; he believes that modern authors have not always properly taken this characteristic into account in their imprese. Thus for example, if you drew a centipede as the symbol of a nobleman, he would have to have many servants. The impresa usually only contained a beautiful and pleasing comparison, more akin to the third type of hieroglyph but the Egyptians also employed pleasing aphorisms clothed in these hieroglyphic forms. Thus Pythagoras also composed all his maxims in imitation of the Egyptians; both Plutarch and Clement of Alexandria confirm this origin "as evidenced by some of the Pythagorean *symbola*." So here there is a complete identification of these symbols with hieroglyphs, and as Giehlow has very aptly remarked (Giehlow (2015) p. 243), there is demonstrated a direct link from Beroaldo through Erasmus and Reuchlin to Mercati. The third type of hieroglyph are the hieroglyphic letters, for which he cites "Horo Egittio" as an authority—a strange misunderstanding, since Horapollo only handed down purely enigmatic hieroglyphs and therefore these should belong to the first type. Also the extracts he provides from Horus and other writers are compiled in a random and unsystematic manner, and the remarks on the Egyptian script result in trivial generalities, such as that, in addition to the simple signs, there were also those that consist of multiple characters or that the sentences were separated by gaps. He modestly closes the section with the words. "And this is all the knowledge we have of the hieroglyphic script." The rest of the book is dedicated to a discussion of the obelisks of Rome, particularly a detailed description of the inscription of the "Obelisk of King Ramses" handed down by Ammianus Marcellinus after Hermapion whose accuracy is not to be doubted.[50]

Mercati found several successors in France; thus there was published in 1614 in Paris *Les cinq livres des Hieroglyphiques* [Five books of hieroglyphs] by Dinet, and in 1618 the Jesuit Nicolaus Caussinus from Troyes brought a work out bearing the title *De Symbolica Aegyptiorum Sapientia. Electorum Symbolorum et parabolarum historicarum syntagmata, ex Horo, Clemente, Epiphanio et aliis …* [On the Symbolic Wisdom of the Egyptians. A collection of chosen symbols and historic parables, from Horus, Clement, Epiphanius and others]. He first introduces hieroglyphs and Egyptian wisdom in general, then symbols,

50 See p. 15 nt. 23 for reference to the inscription of Hermapion.

emblems, etc., and the text of the Horapollo follows in Greek and Latin, several times with tirades against the translation of Mercerus[51] and criticism of the inaccuracy of Valeriano. Next he mentions the *Hieroglyphica* of Clement of Alexandria in the fifth book of the *Stromata*, as well as the *Ex S. Epiphanii expositionibus* [In the exposition of S. Epiphanius] the well-known book of symbolic animal fables,[52] among which an example is the stork as a symbol of piety, and other similar ones. In the same book from Caussinus himself come *Observationes* on Horapollo and Clement of Alexandria, then finally *Aenigmata Symposii poetae*, and *Polyhistor symbolicus, electorum symbolorum parabolarum historicarum stromata.* [12 books of a collection of chosen symbols and historic parables]. It is again the old mixture of hieroglyphics, emblems and general symbolism that took the place of any real knowledge of the Egyptian script. There are no pictures in the book just the title page with two fantastic obelisks.

In Germany the interest in the hieroglyphs and especially for the *Horapollo* had not waned. The Augsburg rector and librarian David Hoeschel (1556–1617) made a translation of the *Hieroglyphica* and this was published in Augsburg in 1595 and 1605; in 1678 the Frankfurt edition of Valeriano was added. For very special and widespread although undeserved fame, there was the splendid and detailed work of the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (born in 1601 in Geisa near Fulda and died in Rome in 1680), who claimed for the first time, to have found a real system for deciphering the hieroglyphs. This he now boldly applied to the inscriptions on the Roman obelisks—of course with the result that he turned out to be completely wrong, and today his results are regarded as quite worthless because he still believed that hieroglyphs represented concepts and not letters.

In his *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, (Rome 1650), he reveals immense erudition, making use of numerous Latin, Greek, Arabic and Hebrew sources to begin to construct a history of writing, of the obelisks and of hieroglyphs. From the moderns he names Pierius Valerianus, who just like *Causinus noster* [our Caussin] had written a commentary on Horus, and also Laurentius Pignorius the interpreter of the Isiac Table and finally Herwart[53] who believed he had found in it an explanation of the magnetic needle and the compass! The other

51 Jean Mercier who was primarily a distinguished Hebraist, had published translations of the Horapollo in 1548 and 1551 which Caussin "borrowed" for his edition in spite of his "tirades" again the translation.

52 This is the *Physiologus* in the recension of Epiphanius. See p. 92 nt. 17 above.

53 The principal work of Herwart von Hohenburg (1554–1624) was the *Thesaurus Hieroglyphicorum* (1610) which has good reproductions of the Mensa Isiaca.

quite fantastic sections, the content of which I do not need to examine here, carry the headings *Mystagogia Aegyptiaca, Ideae Hieroglyphicae* and *Obelisci Pamphilici interpretatio*. He was quite rigid in his belief that the inscriptions of the obelisk contained only higher wisdom, but not the famous story of this king;[54] this is why he summarily explains the reported inscription of Ammianus Marcellinus incorrectly.

The four-volume work *Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Rome 1653–54, begins with a bombastic dedication to Ferdinand III in several languages, and this for us is a very interesting attempt by Kircher to apply his hieroglyphic system at least once by depicting an obelisk surmounted by an eagle with an inscription praising the Emperor—a strange contrast to the usual view of the obelisk mentioned above and a highly instructive parallel to Pirckheimer's hieroglyphic panegyric to Maximilian I. The inscription of *Momphta*, a mere invention of Kircher, is shown to be the equivalent of the Emperor, in the same way that he himself speaks through the picture and the accompanying interpretation.[55] Again, Kircher shows his mastery of the authorities in the older literature and cites Valeriano, Caelius Rhodiginus, Pico della Mirandola, Calcagnini and Reuchlin among others. In the first section of Volume II there are remarks on symbolism, on imprese and on emblems. In addition the rules for a good impresa are discussed especially those of the different Italian academies, as well as the imprese of some highly placed individuals (Urban III., Ferdinand III and so on) and some good illustrations with captions in Hebrew, Arabic and Syrian. Then he goes on to badges and coats of arms, puzzles, logogriphs,[56] parables and proverbs, all of which then merge into a larger "hieroglyphic" whole. The second section, *Grammatica*, discusses the form and the decipherment of the various texts, the third, *Sphynx mystagoga* discusses the symbolic-mystical doctrine, in which the "Pythagorean symbola" are employed in the same way as in the Horapollo or as in Greek mythology. The fourth part discusses the Hebrew Kabbalah, the fifth the Saracen Kabbalah, the sixth and last is a *Systematica mundorum*. Volume II introduces the hieroglyphics (Egyptian and Arabic) devoted to mathematics, mechanics, medicine, chemistry, magic and theology; the obelisks are expounded in the last. Finally,

54 That is Ramses III. See p. 254.

55 Kircher's translation is "the four-powered beneficial guardian of celestial generation, dominator of air, through Momphta commits benign aerial humor to Ammon most powerful of inferiors, so that by images and fitting ceremonies it is potently expressed". In fact it says that the Emperor Domitian ordered the obelisk and had the inscription cut in Rome!

56 A type of word puzzle similar to an anagram.

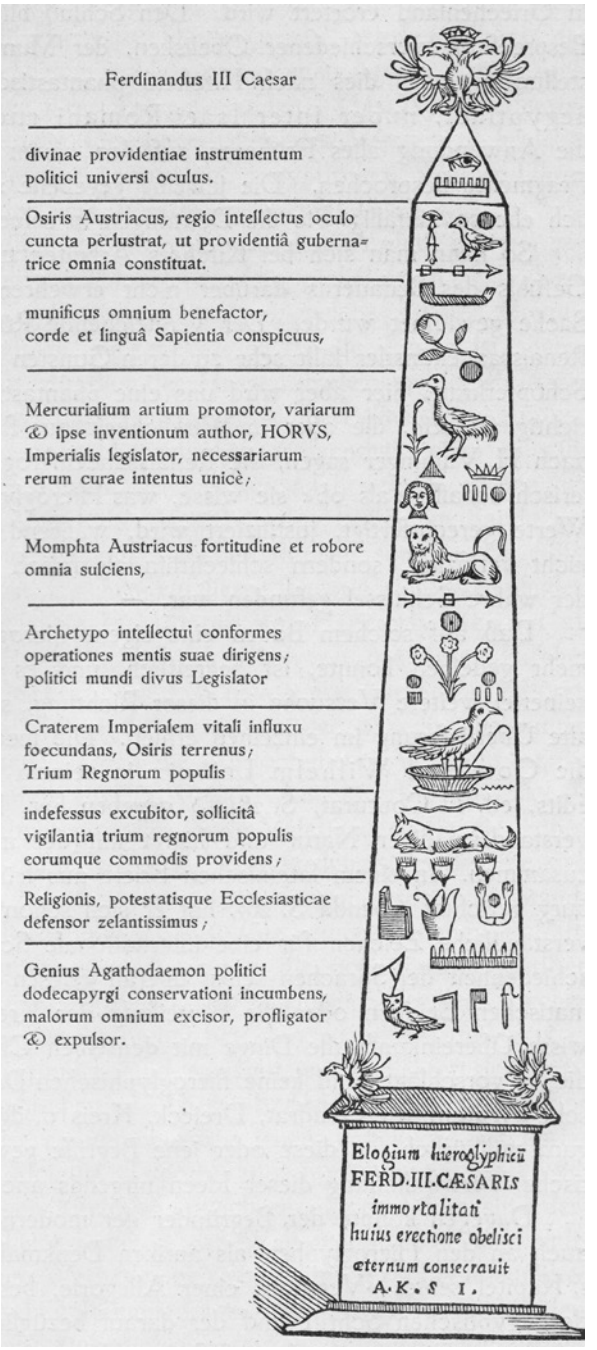

FIGURE 103 *Athanasius Kircher, Oedipus Aegypticus, Vol. I Elogium 27 on Ferdinand III.*

Volume III *Theatrum hieroglyphicum*, attempts a supposed explanation of the obelisks and other monuments in their physical, tropological, mystical, historical, political, magical, medical, mathematical, kabbalistic, hermetic and theosophical senses, a true labor of Sisyphus, especially when you consider that everything was built on a false foundation! Here, he includes his learned examination of many types of scripts, such as Chinese, Indian, Mexican and Armenian and after that there is a discussion of the presumed Egyptian alphabet set, the Coptic language and the introduction of Egyptian writing into Greece. The conclusion is a long digression on the Isiac Table and on various obelisks, mummies, sphinxes, amulets and other Egyptian symbolic representations, all of which are "explained" according to Kircher's fantastic principle. His last work, *Obelisci aegyptiaci, nuper inter Isaei Romani rudera effosi, interpretation* [An interpretation of the Egyptian obelisk recently excavated from the ruins of the Isaeum of Rome], Rome, 1666, includes an exposition of all the ancient finds from this new resource and then discusses individual Egyptian figures and fragments. The actual *lectio idealis*[57] of the relevant hieroglyphs which he provides is of course is as untenable as the interpretations in his other works.

So, taking an overall view of Kircher's work it is hard to resist a sense of regret for the astonishing effort that he made for a lost cause. A comparative review of the hieroglyphics of the humanists and of the Renaissance artists is nevertheless favorable to all of them, for their very mistakes demonstrate their creative power. But they demanded of us belief in a fantastic science that claimed to be true but in reality was totally wrong and unproductive. One could indeed say as did Hans Vaihinger [1852–1933][58] that Renaissance hieroglyphics was a spirited fiction that expressed fresh and artistic ideas, "as if" the authors knew what hieroglyphics were, a fiction justified by the positive values thus created. But Kircher posited a scientific hypothesis which could not be verified, was recognized as false and therefore simply crumbled into nothing when the real solution was found.

That a specific hieroglyphic script of a humanist nature could not thrive on such soil is understandable and there were no further attempts in the field apart from Kircher's introduction but emblematics continued to proliferate

57 Kircher said the hieroglyphs should be read according to an "ideal reading" meaning that since they transcribed transcendental concepts hieroglyphs could only be read by "putting aside words." In this way he conveniently excused his fantastical translations. For further discussion see passim D. Stolzenberg *Egyptian Oedipus: Athanasius Kircher and the Secrets of Antiquity*, University of Chicago Press, 2015.

58 Vaihinger was a German philosopher whose principal thesis was that even if the initial premise of a proposition could not be substantiated, it could be treated "as if" it were true and useful deductions could be derived from it.

and traces of some of the old traditions are still found. The strange suggestion of an universal notation made by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in his fragment *Sur la langue universelle* [On a universal language] (Opuscules inédits, ed. L. Couturat, pp. 281 ff.) which was of a purely intellectual nature based on his own imaginative design no longer has any relation to any mystical or artistic hieroglyphic language. In a letter in Latin from the earliest time, that is from about 1666–72 and probably to Baron Boine-Bürg (ibid., p. 29), he had already mentioned his idea of creating comprehensible characters for an international literary language which could be read anywhere independently of the diversity of languages themselves just like numbers and mathematical symbols or the division of the circle into 360 degrees. In it he says: "All nations could by agreement designate everything with the same characters." But the characters that he proposes are not hieroglyphic representations of the things themselves, but abstract-geometric figures such as squares, triangles, circles, etc. in various combinations and cross-hatching, chosen quite arbitrarily for this or that term. It is not surprising that a practical realization of this idea was never even attempted.

By contrast, the founder of modern archaeology, John Joachim Winckelmann [1717–1768], was not reticent about the hieroglyphs since he saw them as ancient monuments. In the first chapter of his *Versuch einer Allegorie, besonders für die Kunst* (Essay on allegory, especially in relation to art], Dresden 1766, he focuses in detail on the Egyptian script relating it to older literature, in particular the Horapollo. He writes thus on page 4:

> Among the Egyptians, who, as the Greeks say, invented the allegory, there was the same universality as among other peoples known to us; it was their sacred language in which those intelligible characters which are the images of things seem to have been the oldest although these signs have been noted only in later texts, not on their old monuments. Characters of this type are for instance the image of two feet in the water, which can be interpreted as what we call a tanner, two feet which walk on water are the symbol for impossibility and fire is symbolized by smoke rising into the air (Horapol. Hierogl. 1.65, 11.16). The elephant portrays timidity and dismay, because this animal stands in awe of his own shadow, for which reason it travels by night through water and over rivers. An evil man is pictured as a beaver, because this animal was erroneously believed to bite off his testicles, and thus escape other animals into the water. (Ibid.)[59] He

59 If by ibid. here Volkmann refers again to Horapollo, he is mistaken. Horapollo 11.65 which has the beaver biting off his testicles symbolizes a man prevented from committing suicide.

> often cites Horapollo but also Clement of Alexandria, Plutarch, Eusebius, Diodorus etc. Here also belongs the lion, which is the symbol of alertness because as depicted it sleeps with its eyes open. It was as a result of this belief that stone lions with the same meaning were positioned at the entrance of their temples. The eye meant caution, and a hand with wings the same, the speed of the mind accompanied by the execution of a design. The cynocephalus could be the sign for the Egyptian water clocks because this animal can pass water and bark on the hour. But many signs were later contrived that made this language puzzling, as for instance the *Pythagorean Symbola* must have been, since these were believed to have been borrowed from the former and do not have a very close relationship to the original ideas. Of this kind also are those which are found on Egyptian monuments, and others we know of, such as for example the tongue, for which the sign was a pot (Hor. I. 27),[60] or the fish as an image of hate, equally the dung beetle and the vulture to indicate Vulcan, and those animals reversed indicating Pallas [Athena] (Hor. 1.12).[61] It is therefore more than likely that these present hieroglyphs are for the most part just arbitrary signs like the oldest Chinese characters, for which, according to the suggestions of the most learned scholars of this nation, the model must have been the tracks of the feet of various birds which were left in the sand....[62]

After the time of Winckelmann the hieroglyphs were still not fully understood, and since the many contradictions revealed in his theory of signs no doubt feel right, it's no wonder that he comes to the conclusion:

> The interpretation of the hieroglyphs in our time is a fruitless undertaking and just another way for us to appear ridiculous. Kircher teaches us in his deeply erudite Egyptian Oedipus[63] almost nothing that is to the point, *et hunc tota armenta sequuntur* [And the whole herd follows].[64]

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60 Horapollo 1.27 is headed Speech and is symbolized by a tongue and a bloodshot eye.

61 For examples of these actual hieroglyphs see Giehlow (2015) p. 24.

62 It is difficult to believe that such an eminent authority as Winckelmann could have intended this suggestion seriously.

63 That is Kircher's *Oedipus Aegyptiacus.*

64 See for further discussion the similar but rather inadequate critique of Kircher's *Obeliscus Pamphilius* in which Goethe quotes from *Nachrichten von Italien*, [News from Italy] by Winckelmann's friend Johann Jacob Volkmann, Leipzig 1770, Vol. II p. 393 (V). The Latin quotation is from the Aeneid 1.184 and presumably is intended to mean that despite the

He adds significantly that he was not talking of this famous allegory of the Egyptian gods, "because the purpose of my undertaking is to bring attention to the allegory of the Greeks, to their works and their imitation by our artists." As literature on "allegory" he then names the *Hieroglyphica* of Pierio Valeriano and the *Iconologies* of Cesare Ripa and J.-B. Boudard, proof of how these various concepts have for him merged to form a single whole; but from his particular point of view he does have a sharp criticism:

> Pierius calls his book *Hieroglyphica* because one of his primary intentions was to throw light on the symbolic characters of the Egyptians, but more than just those that have been preserved in ancient texts on works of art. In addition to these he has added some pictures of the Greeks from their texts, but he takes nothing from the monuments, and what he does describe is partly founded on shallow conjectures, and anything that is good, he loses sight of beneath needless verbiage and is certainly not enough to write an important book … He uses Caesar Ripa as his foundation … The erudition in his own iconology is mostly borrowed from Ripa—the rest is partly taken from books of emblems, like Alciato, Typotius etc. but a large portion is a product of his own resources or rather his own imagination. His pictures are such that you would think they were conceived and sketched as if there no old monuments in the world, and you might believe that he did not have any information from statues nor from any collected works, nor from coins nor gem-stones. His pictures are not artistic but more for illustration. Many of his ideas are not ridiculous but I think the foreign[65] proverb for one would apply to him,—to piss in a sieve,—that is, to do things that are futile because they have already occurred, things that he could also have done figuratively.

Boudard[66] could be judged in a similar critical fashion since he had only redrawn Ripa's characters in new costumes and in the latest fashion; Winckelmann summarized: "Both this one work, and that of Ripa, which has attracted such general favor and in fact become the artist's bible, can be seen simultaneously as the ultimate in genius and taste."

If he was evaluating these works purely objectively and without regard for their historical relationships, you could understand such disdain; similarly he

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impossibility of deciphering the hieroglyphs at the time, many authors followed Kircher in his interpretations.

65 The German is *welsche* from the Old German meaning foreigner.

66 Jean-Baptiste Boudard, *Iconologie tirée de Divers Auteurs*, Vienna: 1766.

wanted nothing to do with the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* and just dismissed it summarily with the remark "I will pass over such dreams." The zeitgeist of the time was just completely different.

Of course, what Winckelmann himself would provide as positive suggestions for allegories instead of these would also seem to us today strange enough, if we had not learned by now to accept the appearance of each of these in the spirit of their own time. In the chapter entitled "Some good and useful allegories of the moderns," he praises, among other things, a Dutch coin of 1633 with the Danaids as a symbol of fruitless work, Castor and Pollux at an Augsburg home as an allegory of brotherly love, a deer on Correggio's Jupiter and Io as a symbol of lust, a bear licking his cubs from Pietro da Cortona's ceiling fresco in the Palazzo Barberini (see Horapollo and Titian's device), a female figure with a bound mouth as "painting," that is silent poetry, after Simonides on a titlepage from Chambray, and the Mnemosyne in Parnassus by Mengs in the Villa Albani who is pulling his earlobe, thus symbolizing memory! In the last chapter, "Essay on modern allegories," he is pure classical-literary and goes so far distant from his text that his images are often quite incomprehensible. Thus he represents antipathy after Plutarch by a lion and rabbit or elephant and pig, consternation by a deer after the Iliad, conceit by a woodpecker after Galen or the same thing by a siren, a traveled man by a stork after Strabo. Necessity based on Horace[67] is shown with a stern face and an imperious hand, as well as nails and wedges and a clamp; those who like to talk are symbolized by a swallow, a bird which according to Anacreon and Simonides is garrulous; the slanderer by the brand K on his forehead since according to Cicero, *Calumnia* [Slander] had originally been written with a K. Maybe the most complex allegory he uses is for the New Year, that is a figure that strikes a large nail into a temple, the *clavus annalis*, struck annually by the praetor![68] In all this, connections to the ancient hieroglyphs are not abandoned altogether; thus a figure without hands symbolizes just and incorruptible judges according to Plutarch's Isis and Osiris, and the

67 Horace *Odes* 1.35. The nails, wedges and clamp of Necessity are the traditional translation of lines 18–20, metaphors which relate to the construction of buildings and thus the strength of Necessity.

68 From the *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* (1890) William Smith, LLD, William Wayte, G. E. Marindin, Ed: "At Volsinii, in Etruria, a nail was driven every year in the temple of Nortia, the Fortuna of Etruscan mythology, in order to keep a reckoning of the years (Cincius, ap. Liv. 7.3). The custom was introduced into Rome from Etruria, probably by the Tarquins, when they founded the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. An ancient law enacted that a nail should be driven each year by the chief magistrate on the Ides of September into the side of the cella of Jupiter on the Capitol. As the Romans thus kept a reckoning of their years, when letters were yet scarcely in use, this nail was called Clavus Annalis. (Liv.l.c.; Fest. p. 56, M.; cf. Cic. Att. 5.1. 5)"

undisturbed silence of the mind is allegorized by an open circular temple with the inscription *Junoni Laciniae*, a symbol that we have already encountered in the impresa of Giovio (fig. 46) and in Ruscelli (fig. 50) where it has a freer design. He then provides detailed descriptions of allegorical painting and these include every attribute and even every color from classical literature but often appear quite forced, though Winckelmann himself (p. 22) warns of the modern tendency to exaggerate allegory. He says that the culture of ancient times was more conducive to this art than the present and one could therefore hope in vain to be able to describe an ode in the way that he does. Rightly August Wilhelm Schlegel[69] could say of his ideas, that at times, one would think he was making proposals not just for art, but for the invention of a new hieroglyphics. Sometimes you could even glimpse the absurd rebus, which confirms again its close connection with our subject. The conclusion of this dry and rather artificial passage contains the magnificent description of the Herakles torso in the Belvedere because it too, in a similar manner, was to be viewed allegorically. Where the poet stopped, the artist started;[70] in every part of the body, as in a painting, the whole hero is made manifest in a single vision just as though one

69 See C. Justi, *Winckelmann*, III, p 23. Friedrich Schlegel (1804) interpreted the concept of the "hieroglyphic" in art in a very strange romantic way; see details in Wilh. Waetzoldt, *Deutsche Kunsthistoriker*, Leipzig 1921, pp. 257 ff. In hindsight the landscapes of Philipp Otto Runge can also be spoken of in terms of hieroglyphs since they are composed with a feeling for and a perception of nature. He describes the human body as the "highest of all the hieroglyphs" thus giving the word a figurative meaning, of which the only interpretation is an allegorical interpretation. The critique of A. W. Schlegel, closely related to and perhaps actually aimed at Winckelmann is on the other hand [the same as] Schopenhauer's assessment of the allegories in art, which are to him nothing but hieroglyphs, the meaning of which is beyond the function of art and has no artistic value. They function only as a "playful recreation, an image which at the same time acts to provide an inscription, that is a hieroglyph, and which has been invented for the benefit of those who may never be able to approach the very essence of art." He says the same of the symbolism of shape or color; "they look much like hieroglyphs, or even Chinese characters, and really stand out in the same class as the coat of arms with a bush which signifies an inn, as a key meaning a court official or as leather which symbolizes miners." After this he goes on to speak of actual emblems and describes some of these from the collections of Camerarius and Alciato. (*Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*) [The World as Will and Representation], Vol. I.3, Bk 50, first edition 1818 (V). The Schlegels were brothers but August was primarily a philologist and orientalist. His translations of Shakespeare are said to be the best in German.

70 This repeats Winckelmann's phrase in his "Description of the Torso of the Hercules of Belvedere in Rome", *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* 2, 3 Penn State UP (1868), pp. 187–189, trans. Thos. Davidson: "At the point where the poets leave off, the artist has begun."

could perceive the full intentions of the artist in the plan of a palace in which is shown the purpose that each element serves. Winckelmann, being untroubled by literary shackles, could develop his artistic sensibility without restraint, that new spirit through which he became the founder of the modern science of art. And so he could describe in striking terms what Adolf Hildebrand later definitively articulated in the phrase "form is an expression of function."

Thus we have arrived at the threshold of the modern age and are able to finalize our consideration of this last offshoot of hieroglyphs and emblems. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries no longer had that strong, natural, sensuous eye that saw everything in images and created everything in images in the same way that the art of the Renaissance and the scholarship of humanism had readily done even when it came to the recording and interpretation of the ancient elements of that art. Rigorous and specialized science came more and more into the foreground and the nineteenth century also brought with it that intensive research in hieroglyphic studies which found its decisive turning point in Champollion's discovery in 1822 and the foundation of modern Egyptology. Of course it also brought about the death of the old hieroglyphics. This strange, little-known tradition could only have been introduced in outline and followed in its major associations through Karl Giehlow's masterpiece although detailed work is still needed to fill out some of the gaps. But certainly it will continue to deserve attention as an extremely significant and widely effective expression of the special mentality of the Renaissance and of humanism.

Appendix: Hieroglyphs and Emblems in Printers and Publishers Marks (Signeten)

We have so far avoided pursuing the numerous applications which hieroglyphs and emblems contributed to in all areas of the arts and crafts and which in the case of imprese at least were commonly employed many times over. A special area but one which should not be completely overlooked in the present publication since it is intended to serve the book trade are the marks of printers and publishers whose frequent and profound influence through the hieroglyphs and emblems of the Renaissance have been hinted at many times in individual cases but, surprisingly enough, have nowhere been treated coherently nor comprehensively. Again, the following can only be a basic introduction leading to further research.[1]

The best starting point must be the famous mark of Aldus Manutius, the anchor wound round with a dolphin and the motto *Festina lente* (fig. 72);[2] its connection with the hieroglyphs of the *Hypnerotomachia* and its discussion by Erasmus has already been referred to above. It must be only too obvious that publishers who were bringing out works in this field and were personally close to the relevant scholars and artists now in turn wanted to impose the brand or mark of their own personality. It is therefore absolutely necessary that anyone who wants to deal seriously with these marks and especially to understand their origin properly should consult the hieroglyphic and emblematic literature carefully.[3] These publishers made their choice, more or less

1 In passing, it should be mentioned that emblematic motifs occur even in the watermarks of the paper, for instance, the unicorn, the bear, anchor, dolphin, the porcupine of Louis XII, the twisted columns of Charles IX. See, inter alia, Briquet, *Les filigranes*, nos. 4432–49, 12444–52 etc (V).

2 It should be noted that nowhere does Aldus use the motto Festina Lente as an element of his mark. He did use it for his own medal which he adopted in 1500. For further discussion of Aldus' mark see Excursus 4 p. 221.

3 In the Preface to Vol. 1 (Alsace) of his great publication of bookmarks Heitz describes marks derived from emblems, symbols, allegories and tropes, even of "hieroglyphic compositions or inventions of phantasy," but he did not examine them in the context of contemporary literature or present proof from individual examples. The commendable work of A. Meiner, "Geschichte des Deutschen Signets," [History of German marks] *Zeitschrift des deutschen Vereins für Buchwesen und Schriftum* (1922), nos. 1–3 probably intentionally omitted this aspect of the problem and was limited to attempting a basic ordering of the excessive amount of material (V). A modern manual of sixteenth century printers' marks is Anja Wolkenhauer, *Zu schwer für Apoll. Die Antike in humanistischen Druckerzeichen des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden: 2002.

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idiosyncratically and besides some original creations of theirs, there are numerous allusions to other symbols, mere use of them as templates or even direct imitations of foreign characters. The mark of Aldus often served as a template and the *Marques Typographiques* of L. C. Silvestre (Paris 1853) contains a whole series of such use by other publishers, as for instance no. 149 by Jehan de Channey from Lyon and Avignon, (1510–1536); no. 317 by Ambrois Brillard from Bourges, (1580), with the motto *Sic propere cunctandum* [Go slow speedily]; no. 482 of Robert Coulombel from Paris, (1578–1627 who kept Aldus' name); no. 142 of Bernard Turrisan from Paris; no. 509 Antoine Tardif in Lyon, (c. 1580), with the matched inscription *Festina tarde.* This inscription was also used by Gabriel Cartier in 1613, as well as by Pierre and Jacques Chouet in Geneva in about 1625, and some others from that city (Heitz, Geneva Bookmarks, nos. 27, 35, 37, etc.). In Germany, Christian Theophilus Ludewig, from Wittenberg in 1700, issued a coin with the anchor and dolphin and the motto *Festina lente*, and above it also a crane with a stone in the claw and the inscription *Cura et Vigilantia* [Care and Vigilance] (Friedr. Roth-Scholtz, *Insignium Typographicorum descriptio*, [A Description of Typographic Insignia] (1765). Even today, the publisher of the medical Rundschau in Munich, uses the sign and the motto of Aldus, The owner Otto Gmelin may thereby be relying on an old family tradition since earlier in 1562 his Swabian ancestor namely Vitalis Gmelich had had his coat of arms created that shows three anchors at the top of a horizontally divided field and underneath a dolphin, and the words *Festina lente.* Whether the presumption is that the family originally came from Rome and had been named Lentulus (Lentulus = Gmächlich [leisurely] and thus Gmächlin!) and whether this is something other than one of the many attractive coats of arms, I will not attempt to decide. In this regard, as can be seen from the above, little can be implied about the acquisition of the Italian emblem, (see. Ed. Gmelin, *Stammbaum der Familie Gmelin jüngere Tübinger Linie* [pedigree of the younger Tübingen branch of the Gmelin family], Munich 1922). The Florentine Book Fair of 1922 also used the mark of Aldus on their printed materials.

The variant of this design given by Andrea Alciato with the motto *Eile mit Weile* [Haste makes Waste] and symbolized with an arrow and the fish, the Remora, which slows down ships, has found a use as a mark, in a direct copy of Alciato, by Heinrich (otherwise known as Melchior) von Neuss, between 1529 and 1558 (Heitz-Zaretzky, *Cologne Bookmarks* Plate IX, no. 27), and Bartholomew Westheimer (Calybaeus), 1533 and 1536 (*Basler Bookmarks* no. 159/60).

Directly borrowed from the *Hypnerotomachia* is the mark used by the Parisian printer and publisher Pierre Regnault (1496–1546) which is derived from the image of the second roundel of Colonna's Obelisk (fig. 12). There we can see the exact same rod with snakes surrounded by transformed elephants and ants, receptacles with fire and water, and ribbons giving an explanation of the hieroglyph: *Concordia res parve crescunt, discordia magne dilabuntur* [Concord grows from little things, discord is greatly decreased], and the name of the publisher. Léon Dorez has already referred to

FIGURE 104
Mark of Heinrich (*known as*) *Melchior von Neuss* (*after Alciato*).

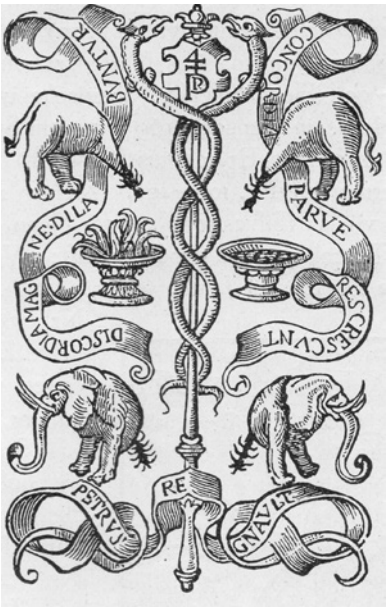

FIGURE 105
Mark of Pierre Regnault, Paris (*after the Hypnerotomachia*).

this in the *Revue des Bibliothèques* cited above and in other contexts. The hieroglyphic mark of John Froben from Basel (fig. 73) also discussed by Erasmus is mentioned above with that of Aldus. Related to this is the sign of Jean Cnobbaert, his widow and heirs in Antwerp from the seventeenth century; it depicts a ringed snake with a dove, and the inscription: *Simplex ut colomba, prudens ut serpens* [Simple as a dove, prudent as

a serpent] (*Marques typographiques des Imprimeurs dans les Pays-Bas*, Ghent 1894, Vol. I). From Erasmus also is shown on page 49 of the same book by A. Meiner, the mark of Johann Herwagen of Basel, which is a herm with a triple-headed bust of Mercury. This apparently goes back to the *Adagia* of Erasmus (Basel: Froben, 1517, p. 589 [*Adagia* III, VII, 95]), where it is said that the term Mercurius Triceps is used to indicate ambiguous or very artful people, and it then goes on: "Mercury was symbolized in this way in ancient times perhaps because speech had the greatest power or perhaps because he indicated a direction with each head. The first such Mercury statue was created by Proclides "as Philochorus [c. 340 BC–c. 260) writes." So it will scarcely stand that "a humanist could probably not have designed this mark" and this example shows quite clearly the importance of the relevant literature for an interpretation of bookmarks.[4] But the remark (A. Meine, p. 48), that this is nowhere to be found in the sources is a direct indication that scholars really are responsible for some of these printer's marks, given the numerous borrowings from Valeriano, Alciato and other scholarly collections but this must be subject to substantial modification.

From the *Hieroglyphica* of Horapollo and Valeriano (Book 17) we have the crane holding a stone as a symbol of vigilance (see fig. 29), which we saw above in Theophilus Ludewig combined with the anchor and dolphin; this led to that of Martin de Montesdoca of Seville in 1554, and Guillermo Drouy 1578–99 (Heitz-Haebler, *Spanish and Portuguese bookmarks*, Plates XXIX and XLI), Marcus Amadorus of Venice in 1569 with the proverb *Vigilat nec fatescit* [Vigilant but never tiring] (Fr. Roth-Scholtz no. 196), Nicolas and Eusebius Episcopius (Bishop) of Basel in 1550, combined with a crosier (Basler Büchermarken [Basel Bookmarks] no. 190–196, Meiner fig. 53.), Michel Parmentier of Lyon in 1540 with the motto, *Plus Vigila* [More Vigilant] (Silvestre no. 675), Jean Bouwenz or Balduinus from Leiden, (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries), with an hourglass and a skull and the inscription: *Vigilate* [Be Vigilant] (Marques Typogr. Pays-Bas II), Theodor Gerritszoon Horst from Leiden from the sixteenth century (ibid.) and Balth. Christoph Wust from Frankfurt am Main in 1676 (Roth-Scholtz no. 67). Several notaries also employed this popular figure including Daniel Pemsel with the motto *Caeca pericla cave*[*a*]*t* [Beware invisible dangers] and Georg Ehrsam with the inscription: *Animose et vigilanter* [Bold and vigilant], both dated from before the eighteenth century.[5]

4 Three-Headed Herms, ithyphallic, are also carried in the triumphal procession of the satyrs in the *Hypnerotomachia* (V). None of the participants in the four Triumphs of the *Hypnerotomachia* carry three-headed herms nor are they evident in the illustration of the carriage pulled by the satyrs of Vertumnus and Pomona (fol. m4).

5 Frederick Leist, *Die Notariats-Signete* [The notarial marks], Leipzig 1896, Plate 13.2 and 20.2. (V).

FIGURE 106
Alciato, Emblemata. The personal emblem of Alciato: "Virtuti fortuna comes."

The pelican also was a very common symbol transferred from Christian symbolism into hieroglyphics (Meiner fig. 60; examples from Germany find numerous parallels in France and the Netherlands; see Silvestre no. 152–54, 332, and 746, and Marques typogr. Pays-Bas I and II). We can take from Alciato his own emblem: the reproduction of both caduceus and cornucopiae.[6] Just with a few or no changes, this was adopted by Pierre Bèllere from Antwerp and Balthazar Bèllere from Douai, in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, Jean van Turnhout from Bois-le-Duc, sixteenth century (Pays-Bas I and II), then Eduard Schleich, Frankfurt am Main 1645, and Christian Klein from the same town in 1650, with a Pegasus above (Roth-Scholtz nos. 310, 377, 378, 383). This combination comes from Christian Wechel, Paris in 1538 and was continued by Andreas Wechel in Frankfurt and his successors (Silvestre nos. 131, 392, 530, 880, 1225). A. Meiner (fig. 73) also illustrates this mark but without the connection to Alciato being acknowledged (see also Heitz, *Frankfurt-Mainz Büchermarke*, Table 62–66). In a mark of the heirs of A. Wechel from 1577, and later, together with Johann Gymnici, of Cologne (1594–95) there is shown a hippopotamus holding a scepter as well as a stone-carrying crane and an abundant accumulation of emblems. From Alciato or Horapollo (see figs. 38 and 66) are the two storks as a symbol of parental love, which among others was adopted by Sebastien Nivelle of Paris from 1550 to 1603, Sebastien Cramoisy, Paris 1632 and Seb. Mabre-Cramoisy, Paris 1670 (Silvestre nos. 201 and 639, Roth-Scholtz nos. 140, 311 and 328), with the motto *Honora Patrem tuum et Matrem* [Honor your father and mother], and similarly for Martin and Philipp Nutius or Nuyts Vermeeren as well as the Verdussen family from Antwerp in the sixteenth and seventeenth

6 For further commentary on Alciato's device as emblem, see R. Raybould, "A Note on Alcato's Device from the 1577 Edition of the Emblemata," *Emblematica*, 18, (2010), pp. 295–306.

centuries (Pays-Bas Vol. 1). A perfect example of a copy from Alciato is also offered by the *Occasio* [Opportunity] on a wheel in the mark of the heirs of Nicolas Basse from Frankfurt am Main (1577–1604) (Heitz, *Frankfurther Drucker- und Verlegerzeichen* [Frankfurt Printers and Publishers], Plate 68, no. 120, A. Meiner, p. 47); even an artist such as Jost Amman worked unhesitatingly in this way from a known template. Yet another Frankfurt publisher, Peter Brubach, in the first half of the sixteenth century chose the head with two faces as a mark and this is derived from Alciato's emblem no. 24 of "Prudence"; John Secerius of Hagenau preceded him (Roth-Scholtz no. 168, Heitz, *Elsässische Büchermarken* [Alsatian Bookmarks], Table 69–71, *Frankfurter Büchermarken* [Frankfurt Bookmarks], as well as Silvestre nos. 567 and 683). Alciato's symbol of unity—two crows sitting next to a scepter on a sarcophagus—can be found in the mark of Bertram Buchholtz in Cologne (1593) with the motto, *Concordia res parvae crescunt* [Concord grows from small things] (Heitz, *Kölner Büchermarken* [Cologne bookmarks] Plate 60, no. 218) and Jacques Mesens, Martin Verschueren and Jean Steelsius from Antwerp, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Pays-Bas Vol. 1). Likewise from Alciato comes the Triton blowing a shell used by Jean van Waesberghe and successors in Antwerp and Rotterdam (second half of the sixteenth century; Silvestre nos. 1021 and 1222–23 as well as Pays-Bas 11), and by Dirck Dircksz from Dordrecht, (seventeenth century). We meet here again the subject of genius hindered by poverty (figs. 34, 36, etc.), as the mark of the publisher Jean Foucher in Paris (1536–1564) with the words: *Paupertas summis ingeniis obest ne provehantur* [Poverty obstructs the achievements of the greatest geniuses] (Silvestre no. 1099). Similarly the printer Barthelemy Berton from La Rochelle in 1570 used the inscription: *Povreté empêche les bons de espritz parvenir* [Poverty prevents the good things of the spirit from being attained] (Silvestre no. 864) and Jacob Thielen from Strasbourg in 1656 quite corrupted and with the motto: *Ignavia deorsum, diligentia sursum* [Laziness [drags] down, Diligence [flies] up] (Heitz, *Elsässische Büchermarken* [Alsatian Bookmarks], Plate 54, no. 2). There are still other borrowings from Alciato: the Fall of Icarus with *Ne quid nimis* [nothing in excess] of Gilles Robinot, Paris 1554–78 (Alciato p. 105, Silvestre nos. 686 to 687), the palm tree with a naked man *Pressa valentior* [Hard-pressed you are stronger] from Jacques Bourgeois in Geneva in 1544 (Heitz, *Genfer Büchermarken* [Geneva bookmarks], nos. 21–22) and Jean Girard ibid. as well as Pierre Hury in Paris from 1585 to 1627 with the inscription: *Sursum tendit* [Press upwards] (Alciato p. 41, Silvestre no. 727). There are similar ones from Nicole Paris in Troyes in 1545, with the inscription: *Et Colligam* [and I will collect] (Silvestre nos. 175, 402 and 1083) and Adrian van Wyngaerden from Leiden, in the seventeenth century, with *Ardua quae pulchra* [Difficult and beautiful] (Pays at-Bas Vol. 11); the elephant in front of a tree with trophies from Pierre Regnault in Paris, who already used the *Hypnerotomachia* image with the elephants and ants (Alciato p. 135, Silvestre no. 842 and 1146), the Hercules with the Hydra from Abraham Faber of Metz in 1587–1613 (Alciato p. 149, Silvestre 1082), just the Hydra from Jerome Bartolus,

FIGURE 107
Mark of Andreas Wechel Erben, Frankfurt and Johannes Gymnici, Cologne. (*reduced*).

FIGURE 108
Mark of Sebastien Nivelle, Paris.

FIGURE 109
Alciato, Emblemata. "On Opportunity."

FIGURE 110
Mark of Nicolas Basse Erben, Frankfurt (*Jost Amman; reduced*).

Pavia 1562 (Roth-Scholtz no. 191) and finally moderation symbolized by a set-square and bridle from Wendelin and Josias Rihel in Strasbourg, 1535–1612 (Silvestre no. 599, 740–42, Heitz, *Elsässische Büchermarken* [Alsatian Bookmarks], Alciato p. 34).

From famous impreses we find first of all the salamander in flames from the Horapollo (fig. 69) that Francis I wore as an emblem and also was depicted by Giovio and Lodovico Dolce among others and is the mark of Maurice Roy and Loys and Charles Pesnot from Lyon from 1555–75 (Silvestre nos. 244 and 951, Roth-Scholtz no. 217), of Jean Cavellat of Paris in 1584 with the famous motto: *Nutrisco et extinguo* [I nourish and extinguish] (Silvestre no. 690), of Gilles Steelsius in Antwerp from the sixteenth century, of Jean Serrurier in Douai and Alexander Sersanders in Ghent, in the seventeenth century (Pays-Bas Vol. I and II), and finally from Jacques Chouet & successors in 1642, Jacques Crespin in 1634, de Tournes in 1672 as well as others in Geneva (Heitz, *Genfer Büchmarken* [Geneva Bookmarks] Bulletin No. 32, 36, 39, 62, 81). The Unicorn, which cleans the source of the poison with its horn was from Giovio (see fig. 45) taken over by Seth Viottus in Parma in 1578 (Roth-Scholtz no. 319) and Balthazar Bellere in Douai, (sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), with the motto: *Venena pello* [I banish poisons] (Silvestre, no. 358, Pays-Bas, Vol. II). Derived from the hieroglyph in the *Hypnerotomachia* (fig. 4) by way of the impreses, the slowly pouring pitcher with the motto: *Poco a poco*, [Little by little] is found used as a mark by Sebastian and Bartholomé Honorat (de Honoratis) from Lyon in the mid-16th century, (Roth-Scholtz no. 239, Silvestre nos. 138–39 and 754). The scepter with the eye in Symon and Antoine Vincent from Lyon in 1540, is found in the Appendix to Kerver's *Horapollo* (Roth-Scholtz

FIGURE 111
Mark of Jean Foucher, Paris (*after Alciato*).

FIGURE 112
Mark of Jacob Thielen, Strassburg (*after Alciato*).

no. 232, Silvestre nos. 442, 934–38). The broken pot after the *Hypnerotomachia* by Geoffroy Tory has already been mentioned (fig. 61); the mark was reused by Olivier Mallard in Paris (1535–43) (Silvestre nos. 171, 356, 604, 803, 931–32, 1168, 1170). The "moralized" Y of Tory (see fig. 62) is then repeated in the mark of Nicolas du Chemin in Paris 1541–76, which is an allusion to his name where the broad path leads to punishment and the narrow to the representation of fame (Silvestre nos. 379, 751 and 825).

Quite similar is the sign of Etienne Wauters in Leuven, 16th century, in which a naked man ascends the right-hand branch of the letter then crashes into flames on the left, which *humanae vitae speciem praebere videtur* [seems to present an image of human life] (Pays-Bas Vol. 11).

The well-known variant by Gabr. Symeoni (see fig. 47) of the motto *haste makes waste,* namely the butterfly and crab with the motto *Matura* [Ready] was taken as their

FIGURE 113
Mark of Balthazar Bellère, Douai (*after Giovio*).

FIGURE 114
Mark of Nicolas du Chemin (*after Geoffroy Tory*). *Central part*).

FIGURE 115
Mark of Mark of Jehan Frellon, Lyon (*after Symeoni*).

FIGURE 116
Mark of Henri van Haesten, Lyon (*after Typotius*).

own by Jehan Frellon and other publishers in Lyon, where Symeoni lived (in 1545, again in 1637 Silvestre nos. 193, 347, 399, 400, Roth-Scholtz nos. 219–21), and also the winged turtle found, as in Typotius (fig. 56), in the same sense was used by Henri van Haesten or Hastenius in Leuven, (seventeenth century), with the motto: *Cunctando Propero* [Speed delays] while Jan van Gelder from Leiden employed the same tranquil animal only as a symbol of the *Chi va piano va sano* [whoever goes quietly goes soundly] with the further inscription *Paulatim* [Gradually] (Pays Bas. Vol. II).

These examples may be enough to be content with for the moment, although there are still other symbols such as the phoenix of immortality or the ship of hope, which could be listed also and there are many other direct and indirect allusions. The artists of the High and Late Renaissance who created such signs all lived in this same cultural circle, and Max J. Friedländer in his beautiful publication of the woodcuts of Hans Weiditz (1922) [Berlin: Deutsches Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft] aptly remarks that the emblematic decoration on the Augsburg titlepages are "ingenious and enigmatic;" he has also illustrated the Golden Ass of Apuleius and undoubtedly he read the passage about the hieroglyphs. In fact, it is almost always best if you wish to interpret a printer's mark to consult first the hieroglyphic or emblematic literature. To show how instructive this is I would like to give one last obvious example: the Breitkopf bear in his original form sucks his paws, with the motto: *Ipse sibi alimenta* [He is his own nourishment]. (It has not been hitherto noticed that this is the start of a verse from Propertius (Elegies III, 21, 4) which reads: *Ipse sibi maxima alimenta praebet amor* [Love is its own greatest nourishment] but here has taken up a more material expression). The bear is found first in Horapollo as the popular image of a bear licking her cubs which Titian took as his Impresa (see fig. 68) and Giovio, Dolce and others reproduced; it also occurs as a mark from Andreas Bouvetius, Lyon, 1646, with the inscription *Informia formo* [A form unformed] but this could not be the correct inscription for the Breitkopf bears. It is also referred to by Pierio Valeriano in the chapter *De urso* [On the bear], Section 2. The bear sucking its paws indicates, as Theophrastus and Sostratus tell us, that it

FIGURE 117
Mark of Bernhard Christoph Breitkopf, Leipzig.

FIGURE 118
Joachim Camerarius. Symbola no XX. "Major post otia virtus."

had remained forty days in its cave, but this is a very different sense, namely, that as a result it was emaciated from hunger, which Breitkopf certainly did not have in mind; the passage is not illustrated.

On the other hand, Joachim Camerarius' emblem no. XX depicts the bear as "himself" in his illustration with the motto: *Major post otia virtus*[7] [Virtue is great after leisure] and the couplet:

7 Statius *Sylvae* 4.4.34.

Ceu lustris latitant ursi et sua membra relingunt,
sic meditatur opus doctus in arte novum.

[As bears hide in their dens and stop using their limbs
So reflecting on ones work, results in new inspiration.]

Thus the scholar draws from his rest strength for new creations, just as the bear in the cave takes food from his paws—for which Pliny, Oppianus and Aelian are the authorities. It would be natural that Breitkopf would have known this popular work and the emblem of the intellectual profession of printer and publisher would have matched correspondingly but a more accurate model could probably not be found. In any case, the symbol of Camerarius sheds new light on the long-standing symbol of Breitkopf and tends to confirm the importance of hieroglyphics and emblematics as well as a knowledge of printer's marks.

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